THE

ANTI-JACOBIN

Review and Magazine;

&c. &c. &c.

For OCTOBER, 1801.

Nullus remaneret imperitis locus veniæ, ſi plura loquerentur: ſola brevitas commendat indoctos. Supra errorem eſt prolixa narratio ruſticantis.

ENNODIUS, *lib.* 7. *Epiſt.* 12.

ORIGINAL CRITICISM.

The Hiſtory of Bath. By the Reverend Richard Warner." Large Quarto. PP. 402. Appendix 123. Price 2l. 12s. 6d. G. G. and J. Robinſon, Paternoſter Row. 1801.

THE private hiſtories of our towns have been greatly multiplied of late years. In a nation of authors, local antiquities are ſure to engage attention and to provoke publication. But in that general ſpirit of improvement, which is pervading all kinds of publications, the hiſtories of our towns have been particularly improving. From dull chronicles of facts, from traditionary tales, and legendary ſtories, they have riſen to the dignity of real hiſtory, to facts exhibited in their cauſes, and illuſtrated by their effects, to facts founded firmly on the baſis of authority, and incorporated fairly into the body of hiſtory. Yet much improvement is ſtill wanted. They are almoſt always undertaken by writers, who *may* have induſtry to examine records, who *may* have even ſpirit to enliven with obſervations, what is announced by records, and who *may* have alſo the happineſs of preſenting all in an elegant form to the mind; but who are greatly deficient in the *leading* knowledge requiſite for the undertaking, in an intimate acquaintance with the *primary* period of our national hiſtory. This is very ſtrikingly the caſe here. Mr. Warner has induſtriouſly conſulted records, has agreeably enlivened what records told him, with his own obſervations, and has thrown a luſtre over all by his elegant vivacity of language. Yet he is very deficient in his

knowledge, concerning the *Roman* hiſtory of Bath. He had indeed publiſhed before, what he juſtly calls an "Illuſtration of Roman Antiquities diſcovered at Bath."* Yet, even with this initiatory work, he ſhows himſelf uninformed, and unthinking, concerning the very monuments ſo illuſtrated. But what is perhaps more ſurpriſing, he has not interwoven his illuſtration with his hiſtory, has us only an abſtract of it in a part of his Appendix, and has omitted ſome of the beſt points of *that* in *this*. We ſhall, therefore, examine the *Roman* part of Mr. Warner's hiſtory with peculiar attention, not ſo much to point out the deficiencies in it, as to ſhew the neceſſity for a deeper information, in writing the *earlier* hiſtory of a town to ſecure many notices that have eſcaped the mind of Mr. Warner in writing *his* hiſtory, and to raiſe the mind of antiquarianiſm in general, up to a higher pitch of thinking, concerning the Romans. In ſo doing, we ſhall be moſt ſincerely ſorry to hurt either the feelings or the intereſt of Mr. Warner; as he muſt have been at a very conſiderable expence in printing ſo ſplendid a work, an expence too conſiderable, we fear, ever to be reimburſed him; and, as we reſpect him for a man of genius, a man of learning, active, adventurous, and clever.

"During the period of Claudius's command," Mr. Warner tells us, concerning the period of this Emperor's ſtay in Britain, "we may look for the origin of Bath; ſince it appears from many teſtimonies, that his troops were, for ſome part of the time, in this neighbourhood. Whilſt they continued here, it was hardly poſſible, that ſo ſingular a phœnomenon, as the hot ſprings of this valley ſhould eſcape their obſervation. Extremely curious with reſpect to natural appearances, the bituminous article covering the ſurface of the moraſs, and the warmth of the waters ſtagnating under this mantle, would catch their attention. An immediate inveſtigation of the cauſes of theſe phœnomena would take place; and the mineral ſprings, which had hitherto burſt unnoticed from the ground, and waſted their medicinal virtues on the deſart around, would be at length diſcovered, cleared, and collected together. Addicted as the Romans were to the uſe of the tepid bath, this diſcovery muſt have been conſidered by them as a very important one, and would immediately tempt them to form a permanent ſtation on the ſpot where it occurred. This they would probably be further inſtigated to by Scribonius, the phyſician of Claudius, and his companion in this expedition; who ſeems to have entertained a high opinion of the efficacy of warm bathing, and preſcribed it as a ſpecific in certain diſorders. † His advice," *probably* "induced them to forego their uſual principles in the choice of ſituation for camps, and (inſtead of chooſing any of the ſurrounding hills) to build a town in the moraſſy hollow of a cloſe vale." ‡

Here we have a ſpecimen at the very outſet, ingenious as this outſet is, of Mr. Warner's want of knowledge, concerning the military hiſtory of the Romans in Britain. He confounds a "ſtation" with a "camp," and again confounds a "camp" with a "town." The "uſual principles in the choice of ſituation for *camps*," as the *en-*

* A thin quarto, 1797. † "Com. Med. No. xx." ‡ P. 19, 20.

campments

campments of an *army*, would, indeed, have pointed out ſome of the ſurrounding hills; and did actually ſeize upon Saliſbury Hill adjoining for one of them, as the camp or encampment there remains traceable in its lines to this day. But this was very different from a "ſtation," becauſe a "ſtation" was not what Mr. Warner intimates it was, at times "permanent," and at times ſhifting; but as the very name imports, always "permanent," and actually a fort. It was a link in a long chain of forts; a chain extended acroſs the kingdom, but as forts poſted almoſt always upon a river and a ford. *That* therefore deſcended of courſe into valleys, and only took the moſt defenſible point in one for the ſecurity of all. When accordingly the Romans came to Saliſbury Hill, reduced the country below it, and wanted a poſition for a fort; they muſt certainly have ſeen the hot ſprings in the valley, and have reſolved for *their* ſakes to fix a fort there. But this they fixed abſurdly on the flat ground, that forms a deep bay in the river, and bends in a very defenſible half moon from Bath bridge on the ſouth, beyond the north and ſouth parades, even up, or nearly up, to Pulteney bridge on the eaſt. The ford acroſs the river was at Bath bridge, as the channel of the Avon there is full of what is denominated *lias* rock, the natural ſupport of a bridge, and the natural ground for a ford. And that *area* has derived its preſent appellation aſſuredly, from this Roman application of it; THE HAM, importing the caſtle or fort, as *Sinottengaham* or Nottingham, meant the fort or caſtle of the caves.*

But a "town" was merely the daughter of a "ſtation." The "ſtation" became *immediately* neceſſary *after* the reduction of the country, to ſecure the country ſo reduced. This point was too important in the plan of military prudence, to be neglected by Romans for a moment: yet, *when* this had been effected, the Romans attended to another point, ſecondary in its uſefulneſs, but important in its conſequences. For their own conveniency in providing themſelves a market cloſe at hand, in indulging themſelves with ſociety among their conquered Britons, and in thus becoming for their own advantage to the gratification of their own pride, even to the perpetuation of their own glory, the civilizers, the refiners, the *Romanizers*, of their ſubjects; they induced them to come upon the ground adjacent to their ſtation, and there ſettle in a town by its ſide. This town was no longer what the Britiſh had been before, a mere fort, fenced round with trees cut down and piled, but ſuch a town as the Romans erected for themſelves on the Continent, a town of well built houſes in regular ſtreets, open in itſelf, but guarded by the fort beſide it. In this manner did Roman towns commence, upon the ſoil of Britain; the Britiſh town generally becoming the Roman ſtation, and the Roman town rangeing along ſome Roman road from it.

* Aſſer's Annales Alfredi 19.

That Roman road at Bath, which ſerved as a *conductor* for the city to paſs along it, was the famous Foſſeway. Coming down viſibly by the ſhire Stones, and entering upon Banner Down, it there makes *a very abrupt angle to the right*; leaving the original road to run as it run before, and to be apparent upon the Down at preſent; but turning off itſelf for Bath-eſton, in order to double with the doubling Avon, and to wind round its northern bank to Bath. Had it not made this angle, it would have abutted upon the Avon, a little to the north of Claverton Mill, ſo have not come within two or three miles off Bath, or have been obliged to ford the river again for it. But, by making the angle, the road gained the ſame ſide of the river with the town, reached Walcot, and ſoon afterwards turned on the left to traverſe the town from north to ſouth. *Hollow-way*, the ſtreet immediately to the ſouth of the bridge, and the ford of Bath, has always been pointed out by tradition, as the Foſſeway; and the Foſſeway is actually diſcernable *under its own name*, about three miles further, on the ſame road, going down Dunkerton Hill, to aſcend the hill oppoſite. But it is even *very conſpicuous* on the ſame road, at a village that takes both parts of its double appellation from it, *Stratton*-upon the *Foſſe*, eleven miles from Bath.* Along this road then did the town extend, from the ditch of the ſtation towards the north; and Stall Street aroſe the firſt within the town aſſuredly.†

Yet did the town, or even the ſtation, ariſe "immediately" upon this ground, "during the period of Claudius's command" here, and at the "further inſtigation" of "Scribonius," the phyſician and attendant of Claudius? Certainly neither of them did. In ſuppoſing, in aſſerting they did, Mr. Warner forgets the facts of hiſtory. Claudius continued in Britain "very few days" only.‡ Claudius actually continued only "ſixteen."§ Even in thoſe he marched with his army ſeveral hundred miles. Bath, therefore, could not owe either ſtation or its town, to him or his phyſician. Theſe muſt both be

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* See map of five miles round Bath, 1799. The "Foſſeway" of this map, near Weſton, can be only the Roman road to Briſtol. The true Foſſeway is called "the Old Foſs" in its route to Dunkerton.

† Mr. Warner, p. 299 "through this" the ſouth "gate, which was taken down in 1755, the Foſſe road led to the river, *not* running directly *parallel* with the preſent Stall Street, but a little declining towards the ſouth-weſt," when the Foſſe road, at paſſing through South Gate, left Stall Street immediately, and ſo could not poſſibly run either directly or indirectly *parallel* with it, and could not poſſibly "decline," however "little," towards "the ſouth-weſt" of Stall Street; there being only the ſhort interval of "South-Gate Street" (Warner, p. 23 and 223 map, &c. and Stukeley's Itin. Cur. 1. 146. edit. 2 map), or (as recently called from the Horſe Bath, on its eaſtern ſide, Warner, p. 23. map) "Horſe treet," between the gate and the bridge, and the Foſſe road certainly puſhing along Horſe Street to the bridge, in order to reach the ford there.

‡ Suetonius, c. 17. "Pauciſſimos Dies."

§ Dio xx. 23. εκκαιδεκα μονας εν τη βριτανια ημερας,

poſterior

posterior in their origin to his expedition in Britain. The station could not be formed before the country was reduced, and the town could not attend at its side till some time afterwards. The country was not reduced before the year 50 of our æra, six years after Mr. Warner's erection of the town and station; as in that very year a battle was fought betwixt the Britons and Romans, a few miles to the south of Bath, sufficiently important to cause the fabrication of a coin, and to occasion the construction of a trophy.* The Fosseway too appears, from the abrupt angle on Banner Down, to have been brought from the south to the Down, *before* the town or the station was built; to have been laid for a station at Claverton Mill probably; and to have thence been carried over the Down to the Shires Stones.† Nor do we find one single memorial of Claudius, among all that have been dug up of Roman relicks, at Bath. The highest that any of these relicks ascend, is the Emperor immediately subsequent to Claudius. "In digging the foundations for the New Hot Bath, Private Baths, and Sudatories, near the Cross Bath," says a writer *merum e triviis petitus*, yet one whom we are sorry, for Mr. Warner's sake, to announce as more replete with information than himself; "and in removing the rubbish to get at the head of the spring of the Hot Bath, and to make a new reservoir; *a great number* of Roman copper and brass coins of the Emperors were found, many of them in fine preservation." These were evidently all *sown* in the soil by the Romans; prodigally provident of their future fame, and carefully perpetuating the testimonies of their own operations. Many of these too were "in fine preservation," coming fresh from the mint, and being well-preserved by the earth. Yet of what Emperors were these the coins? They were of "Antonines" of "Trajan," of "Adrian," and of "Nero."‡ The last is a proof, and a very early proof it is, of the antiquity of these baths; while the others unite to prove the continued use of the baths afterward. The baths were first formed in the reign of Nero, but enlarged or ornamented in the reigns of Adrian, Trajan, and Antonine.

"Those who possessed the interior parts of the kingdoms, the Aborigines or first settlers in it, were rude and uncultivated, unacquainted with agriculture, and those other simple arts which seem almost necessary to existence. To a people thus circumstanced, their flocks of cattle would be their principal riches, and to provide a pasturage for them their principal care. This necessarily obliged them to a wandering state of life. In a country, like Britain, overrun with wood, and filled with morasses, spots fit for pasturage were but rare, and these frequently separated from each other by considerable intervening tracts of country. These pastoral tribes, therefore, could never think of forming a settled residence in any particular place; as long as fodder for their

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* Cambden 168. edit. 1607.

† See the grand map of Wiltshire, by Dury.

‡ Bath Guide p. 8. edit. 1800.

cattle preſented itſelf, ſo long they conſidered themſelves tenants of the tract they occupied; but, when this failed, they, with one conſent, ſtruck their tents, and marched to ſpots which had been hitherto untouched, or had recovered their mantle of vegetation by a proper interval of reſt after a former grazing. That their reſidence might be the more eaſily ſhifted, their habitations were of the moſt ſimple conſtruction. Miſerable cabins, with ſtalls for their cattle, grouped together, without order, in the dark retreats of a foreſt, preſented a picture of the temporary towns of the Aboriginal Britons.*"

We have produced this paſſage, as a ſample of thoſe wild accounts, which are growing faſhionable among us, which are always, indeed, the progeny of reflection, but then of reflection untutored in facts: writing therefore from its own ideas, and diſtorting the ſolar truths of hiſtory into the ſplendid falſhoods of diſquiſition. Mr. Warner has thus reflected, thus written, and thus diſtorted, in the preſent paſſage. From ſome wrong conceptions in his own mind; concerning the original Britons, he ſurmiſed them to be all a nation of wanderers, acknowledging no property in the ſoil of the country, acknowledging no property in the produce of the land, but moving in vaſt columns of cattle, children, and wives, over the unallotted, uncultivated ſurface of the whole iſland. In this ſtate of the iſland, it muſt have reſembled the very wilds of Arabia itſelf, and all the inhabitants have driven in parties, like the ſands themſelves, from one ſide to another, carrying deſtruction to all that they met in their courſe, and burying one another in the general whirlwind.

This is ſuch a picture of Britain at its firſt inhabitation, as even credulity itſelf muſt reprobate with diſdain.

Quodcunque oſtendis mihi ſic, incredulus odi.

But let us not reſign the picture to reprobation, merely from its abſurdity: accounts are at times abſurd in reaſon, yet true in fact. Let us therefore refute this account, by an immediate appeal to hiſtory.

The whole is founded on Cæſar's diviſion of the Britons into Aborigines and Belgæ. "Britannicæ pars *interior*," ſays Cæſar, "ab iis incolitur quos *natos in inſulâ ipſâ* memoriâ proditum dicunt; *maritima* pars ab iis qui prædæ ac belli inferendi cauſâ *ex Belgis tranſierant*, et bello illato ibi tranſierant."† Who then were natives and who Belgæ? Another intimation from Cæſar ſhall tells us. "Ex his omnibus," he cries, "longe ſunt humaniſſimi, qui Cantium incolunt, *quæ regio eſt maritima omnis—interiores* plerique," the Britons to the *north* of Kent, yet not *all*, but *moſt* of them, "frumenta non ſerunt, ſed lacte et carne vivunt."‡

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* Warner 13, 14.

† De Bell. Gall. v. 12.

‡ De Bell. Gall. v. 14.

All therefore to the *ſouth* of the Thames, ſpeaking generally, we pronounce to be Belgæ, and all to the *north* natives. Yet neither natives nor Belgæ are deſcribed by hiſtory, as "obliged to a wandering ſtate of life," to have only "temporary towns." They are ſo deſcribed only by Mr. Warner. He even adds, we ſee, that the natives "*could never think* of forming a ſettled reſidence, in any particular place." Nay, he actually, in another place, carries this ſtrain of thinking and acting, even back into the Continent; as he mentions "a tribe of Gauls, which had come "in the *firſt* migration that was made from the Continent," which was therefore a tribe of the natives now in Britain, "purſuing *that vagarious* life" in Britain "which they *had followed in their own country*" of Gaule.* In this manner has Mr. Warner ſet all the tribes afloat, that peopled equally Gaule and Britain; each driving before the tempeſt of neceſſity, and daſhing violently againſt each in the colliſions of want. All this, we may be very ſure, is as falſe as it is ſtrange, and equally for Britain as for Gaule. It is even as falſe, as that tale of *Bladud and his pigs* which Mr. Warner has reprobated ſo juſtly, without deigning to refute it. He has even refuted his wild tale of Britiſh *Gypſies*, roving unconfined over the country, living without any ſettlement, and ſubſiſting without any proviſion; by intimations, that the force of truth has extorted from him at times, of the Britons being divided into tribes, and of their inhabiting appropriated points of territory. Thus, to confine ourſelves to the neighbourhood of Bath at preſent, he mentions (as we have ſeen before) that "a *tribe* of Gauls, who retained their *original name* of "Hædui," as formed into one nation under one national name, "had ſeized upon *Somerſetſhire*" as an appropriated diſtrict for themſelves, "the *ſouth-weſtern parts* of *Glouceſterſhire*" as equally appropriated, "and the *north-weſtern corner* of *Wiltſhire*" as equally appropriated; yet did all this, we are told expreſsly, "in the *firſt* migration that was made from the Continent." Yet theſe are the very Britons, of whom he has ſaid before, they "purſued that vagarious life which they had followed in their own country." So directly in contradiction to himſelf does Mr. Warner here write!

Mr. Warner, however, cites even Strabo himſelf, in mentioning "the temporary towns" of the natives. But he cites him in ſupport of what Strabo never meant. Mr. Warner cites the allegation of Strabo, to prove the *natives*, not the Belgæ, to have had towns in woods; while Strabo extends the allegation to Bath.

"Their manners," Strabo tells us in general of the Britons at large, "are ſome of them ſimilar to the Gallic, but others more ſimple and more barbarized; ſo that ſome of them, though abounding in milk, make no cheeſe through ignorance, and are ignorant as well of gardening as of other agricultural operations; there are *dynaſties* among them, and their *towns* are

* Warner 15.

woods; for having fenced round an ample circle with trees cut down, they then make huts for themſelves, and ſtalls for their cattle, neither of them calculated for any long duration." *

There is no account in theſe words of Strabo, as an author has remarked near thirty years ago, in language as pointed againſt Mr. Warner, as if it had *not* been applied to Mr. Carte,—

"Of the Britons ſhifting their habitations, and much leſs of their changing their cities. The whole is a deſcription of a Britiſh town. And Strabo ſays, that it was compoſed of cabins for the garriſon, and hovels for the cattle, τα προς πολυν χρονον, built of no durable materials; being not conſtructed, like thoſe of Italy, with ſtone or bricks, but with timber and plaiſter. I have ſhewn already from Cæſar, that they were of the ſame materials, generally with the Gallick houſes;" and Cæſar's words are theſe, "ædificia fere Gallicis conſimilia." † Nay, theſe houſes are ſaid by Cæſar expreſsly, to be *very numerous*, "creberrima;" a deciſive evidence againſt the vagarious life aſſerted by Mr. Warner, as a ſtriking ſignature of a permanency of habitation. "And they were mean habitations, ſays Diodorus expreſsly, becauſe they were compoſed," as ſo many thouſand houſes in the iſland are at preſent, "*principally* of *timber* and *reeds* (346). Strabo's words alſo, which are here confined by Mr. Carte to the Old Britons, are extended, in the original, to all of them, the Belgæ as well as the Aborigines. And, as they are deſcriptive of *a Britiſh town*, they ſhew the *Old Britons* and the *Belgæ* to have *equally had towns* among them, and *equally the ſame ſort of towns*; and ſo *defeat the very purpoſe for which* Mr. Carte" before had, and Mr. Warner now again "*has, produced them.*" ‡

The miſapplication of Strabo, however groſs in itſelf, had been made near thirty years ago by ſuch a careful hiſtorian as Mr. Carte, and will again be made thirty years hence, we may conjecture, by ſome flippant hiſtorian like Mr. Warner. But, to prevent the repetition, if poſſible, let us finally notice one certainly of the Aboriginal Tribes, and ſpecify its towns as particularized by the Romans themſelves. The *Brigantes* of Yorkſhire, &c. as we know, even from Ptolemy, had, at leaſt, theſe *towns*, Epiacum, Vinnovium, Calatum, Tſurium, Rhigodunum, Olicana, Eburacum, and Cambodunum. § And concerning two tribes of Belgæ, we have this expreſsly hiſtorical teſtimony in Suetonius; that Veſpaſian "duas validiſſimas gentes," one of them the very Belgæ that reduced the Hædui of Mr. Warner, ‖ *ſuperque viginti oppida*, et inſulam, Vectem Britannicæ proximam, in ditionem redegit." ¶

Yet, to the diſturbance of all teſtimony, and to the ſubverſion of all hiſtory, Mr. Warner ſays, at the coming of the Romans into Somerſetſhire, nothing "had been" found by the Belgæ there "ſuf-

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* Strabo iv. 2. † De Bell. Gall. v. 12.

‡ Whitaker's Hiſt. of Mancheſter, Appendix No. 1. p. 300. vol. 11d. octavo.

§ Geog. ii. 3. ‖ Ricardus Corinenſis p. 51. ¶ C. 4.

ficient,

ficient, to divert theſe Aborigines from that paſtoral life which they had hitherto led," and "induce them to build cities."* Yet, at that very coming, theſe very Aborigines had built *two cities*. Theſe were Iſchalis or Illcheſter, and Avalonia or Glaſtonbury. Theſe we know to be Britiſh from their Britiſh appellations. We know them again from hiſtorical authority; as "ad Sabrinam, Thameſi inferius, habitant *Hedui*," we are informed, "urbes eorum Iſchalis et Avalonia." But, as we are equally informed, by the ſame author, "thermæ, quæ et Aquæ Solis nuncupabantur, Romanorum (qui hanc Britannicæ ora tenebant) factæ—perpetua ſedes."† The city of Bath, indeed, was evidently formed by the Romans. The Roman or Roman Greek appellations for it, θερμα ὑδαλα and Aquæ Solis, ſhew it at once to be Roman. And the city acknowledges its origin in its name, juſt as Avalonia and Iſchalis have acknowledged theirs before.

The "paſtoral tribes" of Britain then, which Mr. Warner had ſet a roving for paſturage, from one end of the iſland to another, are now ſettled for ever at reſt. They lived indeed upon we know not what. They raiſed no corn. They could have little milk, and leſs fleſh meat; as they had paſturage ſo rare in the country, and were obliged to drive their cattle ſo far for ſo little. They might well therefore be all extinct. Yet to our ſurprize we find them all alive and hearty, at the Roman arrival. Cæſar himſelf tells us of his contemporaries here, that "hominum eſt infinita multitudo."‡ And, to conſummate this hiſtorical paradox, thoſe very tribes ſo ſteadily "purſuing that vagarious life, which they had followed in their own country" of Gaule, we find, upon examination, to have been like their anceſtors in Gaule, all embodied into nations, all marſhalled into diſtricts, and all claſſed into cities; there to have had houſes as good nearly as the houſes of the Gauls, as good nearly as even our own, as fixed and ſettled certainly as either, being framed of timber, and covered with reed.

"The baths," Mr. Warner aſſures us, concerning this Roman city, "were the firſt public buildings erected by the Romans within the walls. Huts for the accommodation of the legionaries, their ſuperſtructures, wooden on ſtone foundation, and covered with ſtraw, ſhingle, or tiles,§ occupied," *probably*, "the remainder of the area, running in ſtrait [ſtraight] line, from the prætorium, or reſidence of the commander, which ſtood at the northern end of the incloſure. Each of them accommodated a decurio, and ten ſoldiers under his command.‖ The troops being thus arranged, according to the regulat ſyſtem of caſtrametation, the ſpace of ground, ſurrounded with the walls, would be ſufficient for the reception of three thou-

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* P. 15. † P. 19. ‡ De Bell. Gall. v. 12.
§ "Vegetius lib. ii. c. 10; et lib. iii. c. 23."
‖ "Vegetius lib. i. c. xiii."

ſand

ſand and fifty foot and 540 horſe, the fourth part of a complete legion, including its auxiliaries." P. 24.

All this is ſaid with a copious ſhow of knowledge, but "with a plentiful lack of" wiſdom. A *town* diſpoſed, "according to the regular ſyſtem of caſtrametion," is a wonderful phœnomenon in the world of hiſtory. It is a non-deſcript, even among the herd of *unthinking* antiquaries. It is, indeed, as abſurd as it is ſingular; nor *could* ſuch a diſpoſition *poſſibly take place* before the town appendent to the ſtation had been raiſed into a colony. All towns were but *ſtationary* at firſt, and only a *few* became *colonial* afterwards. Of *theſe* the *firſt* was *not* Bath, *but* Colcheſter; not aquæ ſolis, *but* Camalodunum; *not* in A. D. 44, but in 52. "Prima-romanarum in Britanniâ coloniarum," ſays Richard, "erat" Camalodunum or Colcheſter.* "Coloniam ibi validâ veteranorum manu conſtituit Claudius," adds Camden, "nummoſque in rei memoriam ſignatos cum inſcriptions *Col. Camalodun*, e quibus colliatur, anno Imperii ejus XII. anno ſcilicet a Chriſto nato *quinquageſimo ſecundo*."† Bath therefore could not be made a colony till Camalodunum had been made one, and the year 52 had been paſt. Till it was ſo made, it was merely a town.

Nor did walls riſe coeval with our towns, whatever Mr. Warner may ſuppoſe, any more than towns ſhot up into colonies at once. A manlineſs of limbs is not coeval with the periods of our births. There is in towns as in bodies, an infancy, a youth, and a manhood, all ſucceſſive. The walls of towns correſpond with the manhood of bodies; but ſome towns expanded early into colonies, as ſome bodies attain the robuſtneſs of manhood early. Yet *how* the towns expanded into colonies, we ſee plainly in a ſingle inſtance, in the very firſt colony that was eſtabliſhed within Britain. Camalodunum was the capital of a kingdom, and on its reduction by Claudius, became a ſtation to the Romans. This was in that very year 44, which Mr. Warner fixes, for the formation of Bath, as a colony; when Camalodunum itſelf was merely a ſtation yet. Even Camalodunum did not become a colony till eight years afterward; and how did it become one then? Tacitus ſhall tell us. "Colonia Camalodunum validâ veteranorum manu," he cries, "deducitur in *agros captivos*," into the *lately conquered lands* of the Trinobantes in Eſſex, "ſubſidium adverſus rebelles," to keep the natives in ſubjection if they attempted to rebel, "et imbuendis ſociis ad officia legum," and to enure the natives, in their fidelity to an obſervance of the laws.‡ But let us ſee, how this plan of policy operated. "In coloniam Camalodunum recens deducti," Tacitus tells us afterwards of theſe veterans lately ſettled in a colony at Colcheſter, "pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris," "they expelled the natives from their houſes, and

* Ricardus Corinenſis, p. 25. † Camden, 168.
‡ Ann. xii. 32.

they

they dispossessed the natives of their lands, *the natives therefore being settled in the houses of the town before*, and *before cultivating for themselves, the lands adjoining to the town*, but being *now robbed of them by the legionaries*, captivos appellando," these branding the British inhabitants of the town, with the appellation of *captives* or *slaves*; " foventibus impotentiæ veteranorum militibus, similitudine vitæ, et spe ejusdem licentiæ,"* the common soldiers encouraging the veterans in their tyranny, from the similarity of their own lives to theirs, and from the hope of one day practising themselves, the same licentiousness of conduct. So little was this earliest colony of Britain *then* " arranged, according to the regular system of Roman castrametation;" that it was actually possessed by *Britons*, that *Britons* alone were inhabitants of the houses, and that *Britons* alone were the occupants of the lands! So little even afterwards, when the town rose into a colony, was it *then* too " arranged according to the regular system of Roman castrametation;" that the position of the houses, the direction of the streets, continued the same as before, the Romans only dislodging the Britons, and taking possession of their houses. Yet the Romans even then dislodged not *all* the Britons, and took not possession of *all* their houses; as the prodigies reported to have happened are said to have raised " a *hope* in the *Britons*," the inhabitants of the town assuredly, while they produced " a *fear* in the *veterans*;" and as some of these continuing Britons had consequence enough with the Romans, to be informed by the Britons without of the insurrection projected, even to keep the Romans within from securing themselves properly, by throwing up entrenchments about the town, or by sending away the feeble part of the garrison; " impedientibus qui occulti rebellionis conscii consilia turbabant, neque fessam aut vallum præduxerunt, neque motis senibus et feminis juvnetus sola restitit."† Such was the first colony in Britain! Such therefore were all the colonies succeeding in Britain! yet something so opposite to all, so wild in its aspect, and so extravagant in its movements, is Mr. Warner's colony of Bath?

But " the baths," Mr. Warner thinks, in these his day-dreams of antiquarianism, " were the first publick buildings erected by the Romans" here. This process however is preposterous. The first object of the Romans would be their own security; the next, their own sovereignty; and the third, their own conveniency in constituting towns, creating markets, or constructing baths. All the other points would precede baths in their attention, as points of prime necessity, while baths could be only objects either of health, or of luxury. Mr. Warner indeed alledges, in a passage not cited by us, as a proof of the *very early* formation of baths here; that " Dio, about the year of our Lord 61, speaks of the *warm baths* of Britain generally, among which we cannot doubt [but] that those of Bath were

* Ann. xiv. 31. † Ann. xiv. 32.

included,

included, though no ſpecific mention be made of them, till a period conſiderably poſterior to this time."* This would indeed be a proof of their *very early* formation, if the paſſage meant *our* baths. But it means them not. It means only the baths of *Italy*. This Mr. Warner muſt have ſeen at once, if he had attended for a moment to the tenour of the paſſage. "I thank thee, O Andraſte!" cries Boadicea, in a prayer for ſucceſs, as the battle was approaching, "and I invoke thee, a female invoking a female, not a princeſs of the burden-bearing Egyptians, like Nitocris, or of the merchandizing Aſſyrians, like Semiramis (for theſe facts we have now learned from the Romans), or yet of the very Romans themſelves, like Meſſalina before, Agrippina ſince, and now alſo Nero, bearing indeed the name of a man, but being a woman in actions, for (as a proof) he ſings, he plays upon the lyre, and he ſhews a pretty face; but a Queen of Britons, men unſkilled to be either huſbandmen or artiſts, but well taught to fight, and conſidering all their property, even their wives and children, to be all in common, and therefore having theſe women as warriors along with us, as actuated by the ſame valour with the men. Queen of ſuch men and ſuch women, I pray to thee and requeſt victory, and ſafety and liberty againſt theſe men, ſo injurious, ſo unjuſt, ſo inſatiable, ſo unholy; if I can call them men, who *bathe in warm water*, who live on well-cooked victuals, who drink wine unmixed, who anoint themſelves with perfumes."† All theſe intimations of reproach againſt the Romans, are not confined to the Romans of Britain, we ſee, but are as broad and general as their whole empire. They are the reproaches of ſimplicity againſt refinement, of ruſticity againſt luxury, of Britons at large againſt Romans every where.

"To defend theſe [hot ſprings at Bath] from injury," Mr. Warner remarks, to render them ſubſervient to health, accommodation and pleaſure, was the next employment, that engaged the attention of the Romans, on their ſettlement here. On this work, alſo, they beſtowed much labour, and expence. Fortunately for the lovers of antiquities, a diſcovery occurred in the year 1755, which throws ſome light on the hiſtory of the hot ſprings of this city, and proves inconteſtibly, that the baths conſtructed here by the Romans were amongſt the earlieſt, as well as the moſt magnificent, of their works in this place." A note adds, "we infer this [the earlineſs] from the remains being *twenty feet* below the ſurface of the earth, *four feet* deeper than any other fragments, that have been diſcovered." Mr. Warner then gives us a "deſcription of theſe remains," extracted from Mr. Collinſon's Hiſtory of Somerſetſhire, and drawn up "during the time of their expoſure." ‡

Mr. Collinſon's account is ſhort and ſignificant. But a much

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* Warner, 27. † Dio, lxii. 6.

‡ Warner 21—23.

larger

larger, and a much better was drawn up by Dr. Lucas, and continued by Dr. Sutherland,* at the very discovery of the two principal parts, respectively the whole thus appears to have been a large building, erected by the Romans upon the site of the Abbey-house, and containing a center with two wings. The eastern wing was discovered first; and Dr. Lucas examined it, with the assistance of Mr. Wood the architect. "*Under the foundation* of the said Abbey-house," he tells us, "full *ten* feet deep, appear traces of a bath, whose dimensions are 43 feet by 34; within, and adjoining to the walls, are the remains of twelve pilasters; these pillars seem to have supported a roof." They seem to us the mere ornaments of the bathing-room. "This bath stood north and south. To the northward of this room, parted only by a slender wall, adjoined a semicircular bath, measuring from east to west 14 feet 4 inches, and the other way "18 feet 10 inches." "The roof of this seems to have been sustained by four pilasters." The pilasters seem again to us, merely architectural decorations of the walls. In this semicircular bath "was placed *a stone chair* 18 inches high and 16 broad." To the bath were two flights of steps, the flights divided by a stone partition, and the steps "seeming to have been *worn by use three inches and a half out of the square.*" Eastward from these stairs, was "an elegant room, on each side sustained" or decorated "by four pilasters." To the eastward of this were what Dr. Lucas calls *Hypocausta Laconica*, and thinks designed for *Sudatories*; but what were in reality parlours or drawing-rooms, kept warm in winter by fires below, instead of our fires at the side. "These consisted of two large rooms, each measuring 39 feet by 22. Each had *a double floor*; on the *lower* stand *rows of pillars*, composed of square bricks; these pillars sustain a *second* floor, composed of tiles, *over* which are laid two layers of firm cement-mortar, each about two inches thick." One of these rooms was northward, and the other southward. But both "are set round with square brick tubes of different lengths," which served for "flues," as they *open into the vacuum between the two floors*, and *rise through the walls.*" So plainly were the rooms above, as parlours or drawing-rooms to the whole house! But "the stones and bricks between the pillars *bear evident marks of fire*; while the *flues* are *strongly charged with soot.*" So much more plainly were these rooms heated by fires below! Yet let us show the point still more plainly, as it has never been apprehended before, and with the accompaniment of hot baths, is so sure to be generally mis-understood. "Heat was communicated to these flues," or as Lucas should have said, the fire between the two floors

* An Attempt to revive Ancient Medical Doctrine, &c. by Alex. Sutherland, M. D. of Bath, and Bristol Hot Wells, p. 17, citing Dr. Lucas's Essay on Mineral Waters, p. 228. part iii.

was kept up, and its ſmoke was diſcharged, " by means of *præfurnia*," theſe very flues, vent holes, or chimnies. " In the middle of the northern wall of the ſecond ſtove," as our chimnies are now in the middle of our walls generally, " the ruins of one of theſe furnaces" or hearths " appears [appear]. It conſiſts of ſtrong walls of about 16 feet ſquare," like the jambs of our modern chimnies, with an opening in the center of about three feet wide," like the pipe of our chimnies, " which terminates conically in the north wall of the ſtove, " two feet wide; where part of the broken arch bears evident marks of fire," the flame below having worked up with the draught into the pipe, and ſo left marks of its preſence at the vent particularly. " About the mouth of the furnace," as upon one of our chimney-hearths, " there were ſcattered pieces of burned wood, charcoal, &c. evident proofs of their uſe." But " on each ſide of the furnace, adjoining to the wall of the northermoſt ſtove, is a ſemicircular chamber, of about ten feet four inches by nine feet ſix." The ſmallneſs of the room in each points it out, as the apartment of a domeſtick in the family. The " floors" of both too " are nearly two feet ſix inches *lower* than that of the next *ſtove*, into *which* they *both open*." They were therefore the bedrooms of the two domeſticks, which took charge to kindle and keep up the fires. Yet, even in theſe chambers ſo deſigned, " the *pavements* are *teſſelated*, with variegated rows of pebbles and red bricks."* Theſe floors then are evidently Roman, evidently calculated in the " pebbles" for no Roman above a domeſtick, yet with ſuch a calculation, evidently marking the ſplendidneſs of the ſuperior apartments.

This was all that was diſcovered by Dr. Lucas. But Dr. Sutherland ſucceeded him in the work of diſcovery. " Since the time of his publication the ground has been farther cleared away; there now appears another *ſemicircular bath* to the *ſouthward*, of the ſame dimenſions exactly with the firſt," and anſwering to it exactly in poſition." What he calls *the Great Bath*, with his ſemicircular *Hypocauſta Laconica*, &c. forms only *one wing* of a ſpacious regular building." Yet Dr. Sutherland calls the wing " theſe *Balnea Penſilia*," and theſe " vapour Baths;" even adds, " whenever the rubbiſh, which covers the *eaſtern* wing of the Roman ruins, comes to be removed," though the printer here has certainly betrayed the writer, and put down *eaſtern*, when the author meant *weſtern*: ſimilar *Balnea Penſilia* will doubtleſs be found." But a new bath, as I ſuppoſed, was immediately found in the *body* of the building.

" From *each* corner of the weſternmoſt ſide of Lucas's bath, a baſe of 68 feet, there iſſues a wall of ſtone and mortar. Theſe" two " walls I have traced ſix or eight feet *weſtward*, under *that cauſeway, which leads from the church-yard, to the abbey green*. When, as we may ſuppoſe, they have run a length proportionable to the width, they compoſe a bath which may indeed be called *great*,, 96 by 68."

* Sutherland i. 17—19, extracts from Lucas.

But

But this carries no appearance of a bath with it. It was merely a long range of rooms, and a paſſage upon each ſide of the range. "Adjoining to the inſide walls of this central bath, there are baſes of pilaſters, as in Lucas's. In ſo ſaying, however, Dr. Sutherland has impoſed upon himſelf. Lucas's pilaſters were on the very wall of the bathing room within, but theſe are on the walls of a gallery or walk without; as "between the wall and the bath"' Dr. Sutherland tells us immediately himſelf, "there is a *corridore* paved."—This ſingle difference precludes at once, the aſſimilation of theſe central walls to the walls of Lucas's Bath. But there is another difference, and ſupplied by Dr. Sutherland again. "From the weſternmoſt ſide of Lucas's Bath," conſequently between the two walls commencing at the two corners, "*a ſubterraneous paſſage has been traced* 24 feet," not running *under a bath* undoubtedly, and (as inſtantly appears) too high even in its very level itſelf, though ſubterraneous, for the repletion of it as a bath with water. For "at the end of" this paſſage "was *found a leaden ciſtern* raiſed about *three feet* above the *pavement*." The water of this ciſtern, therefore, was plainly not deſigned for any bath over head: whither then did that water go? "From this" ciſtern "a channel is viſible in the pavement, in a line of direction eaſtward, conveying the water to *Lucas's Bath*." This central building, therefore, whatever Dr. Sutherland has alledged, had no bath within it. The Doctor's own diſcoveries turn againſt himſelf, and his facts refute his allegations.*

Yet another bath was diſcovered, as Dr. Sutherland predicted there would be, when the *weſtern* rubbiſh was explored. It was accordingly explored, but after Dr. Sutherland had publiſhed in 1763; and a wing was found correſponding exactly with the eaſtern. †

Away then with thoſe impertinences, of *Balnea penſilvia*, of *vapour baths*, the *frigidarium*, the *tepidarium*, and the *elcotheſion*, with which we have been amuſed and ſtunned for ſo many years paſt; ‡ as if, to the violation of all propriety, and to an inſult upon common ſenſe, the whole building had been merely a neſt of baths. The whole was the palace aſſuredly of that Roman, who was the commandant of the colony at Bath, and who, with his brother commandants of colonies, has left us the appellation of COLONEL for the commandant of one of our *regiments*, thoſe parts of a legion which have been tranſmitted to us, with the name, by the Romans.

Thus "the *prætorium*, or reſidence, of the commander" did *not* ſtand, as Mr. Warner has fixed it in the extract immediately preceding, "at the northern end of the incloſure," but near the middle and on the ſouth-eaſtern ſide. It perhaps became afterwards the manſion

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* Sutherland, i. 19, 20.

† See the drawing in Gough's Britannia, i. p. 79, 80. Plate vi.

‡ Lucas and Sutherland above. Warner 22, 23, from Collinſon and Gough.

of

of the provincial *Præſes*, and certainly the palace of the Saxon Kings afterwards. Edgar was the laſt who reſided in it; being crowned in the church adjoining, upon the Whitſunday of 173*. This church, originally parochial of courſe, was made collegiate in 676, by Oſric king of the Huiccii, † a king therefore reigning in the vicinity of Bath certainly, and within the very orbit of it probably; he, with the conſent of his ſuperior ſovereign Ethelred king of Mercia, erecting a nunnery at *Hat Bathum*, and attaching the church to it. ‡ This nunnery was changed by Offa, as King of Mercia, in 775, into a monaſtery of ſecular canons; and the monaſtery is characterized in 957, as "quod in Bathoniâ *mira fabrica conſtructum* cognoſcitur," when, in 956, it is equally placed "in Bathonica, ubi *terme amene calidiſque fontibus diriuantur*."§ In 970 Edgar gave to the church the whole city of Bath, with his own palace included aſſuredly, though the alienation did not take place, we ſuppoſe, till his coronation was paſt; and the city is then deſcribed, as "civitateque celebra *Æt Hatuum Bathum* nuncupatur honorate."‖ By this alienation, however, the palace became a priory, and the colonel, or the *præſes*, was ſucceeded by an abbot. But one of the Roman baths had been previouſly converted into a chapel. Mr. Warner tells us, on the demolition of the abbey-houſe in 1755, that "on this occaſion *ſeveral ſtone coffins were dug up*;"¶ and Dr. Sutherland tells us ſtill more,—

That "in clearing away the foundation" of the abbey-houſe, *ſtone coffins, bones of various animals*, and *other things*, were found."** Yet, as one more knowing than either aſſures us additionally, "in digging out the ancient foundations of the priory, the workmen found, about *eight* feet below the ſurface of the earth, *ſeveral rough-hewn ſtone-coffins*, with the *ſeeming entire* but mouldering remains of *human* bodies, of different ages and *ſexes*," the ſexes diſcriminated by the ſize of the ſeemingly entire remains, "and *ſeveral pieces of coin* of the *ſucceſſive* SAXON Kings, the number of pieces, and *different reigns*, poſſibly denote the age of the interred. *Three* or *four* feet *below* the burying-place of the SAXON, were diſcovered" what we have ſeen before, "remains of ſeveral very noble *Roman* baths and *ſudatories*," as the author, in union with others, calls the parlours or drawing-rooms of the Romans, "conſtructed on their elegant plans, with floors ſuſpended upon ſquare brick pillars, and ſurrounded with tubulated bricks."

But, as this author goes on, in dwelling upon what others have ſlided over with ſo light a foot, "*one* of theſe Saxon coffins *lay level* with *the floors* of the *ſudatories*, and *another* lay upon the *ſhafts* or *part of the upright* of one of the *pilaſters* of the *great bath*." †† This bath, as we have ſeen before, was the greater of the two, in the firſt-diſcovered wing, the eaſtern; being ſquariſh in its form, and large in its ſize,

* Warner 50. † Warner's Appendix, 1, 2, and Bede's Hiſt. iv. 24.
‡ Appendix ibid. § Appendix, 4, 3, and Hiſt, 47—50.
‖ Appendix 4. ¶ Warner 136. ** Sutherland, i: 16.
†† Bath Guide 7.

while

while the other was ſemicircular and ſmall. This however had been previouſly converted into a chapel and a burying place. Hence "one of theſe Saxon coffins," all of "rough-hewn" ſtone, "lay level with," not upon but below, yet up to the line of, "the floors of the ſudatories" or parlours. Hence alſo "another" of them "lay upon the ſhafts of one of the pilaſters of the Great Bath." Theſe, however, were only the bodies of the more dignified, becauſe they were depoſited in coffins of ſtone, and theſe coffins were either buried in the depth of the upper floor, or put upon a ſhelf (as it were) along the ſhafts of a pilaſter; "each" pilaſter "meaſuring three feet ſix inches on the front of the plinth, by a projection of two feet three inches."* Theſe were ſome of the Romans aſſuredly, the earth being afterwards accumulated upon the floor, till it roſe "three or four feet" above it. At the height commenced the burials of the *Saxons*, and kept riſing gradually towards the ſurface. In the interval of ground lay their bodies of different ages and ſexes, and ſeveral pieces of coin of the ſucceſſive *Saxon* kings," all thrown into the graves undoubtedly at the interments, to "denote the age of the interred."

Before, however, this Roman bath was diverted from its original deſignation, how were it and the others repleniſhed with water? Dr. Sutherland ſhall tell us, though all unconſcious of his own knowledge, and ignorant of his own diſcoveries. In the ſubterraneous paſſage of the central building before, and in a channel there cut upon the pavement, "within four or five feet of the eaſtern bath," ſays the Doctor, even now "*bubbles up a ſtrong* ſpring, which raiſes the mercury in the thermometer *almoſt to the ſame height with the main ſpring of the King's bath!*"† This channel too extends both ways from the ſpring; running "in a line of direction *eaſtward*," ſo "conveying the water to Lucas's bath," and alſo traceable *about twenty feet* to the *weſtward*.‡ This ſpring therefore was the very object that fixed the houſe of the Roman colonel upon the ſite, in order to take the ſpring *within* the houſe, and to feed, at leaſt, *ſome* of his baths with its waters. Its waters were nearly as hot, we ſee, as thoſe of the King's bath; and therefore rendered all thoſe proviſions as impertinent as they would have been expenſive, which antiquaries have made in theſe baths for *heating* the waters. But, when the great bath of the eaſtern wing was converted into a chapel, and a burying-place, this ſpring ſeems to have been deſignedly ſuppreſſed, by laying a heavy ſtone upon it, and by deriving inſtead of it, an artificial current from the King's bath. That converſion, however, in all probability, did not cauſe a diverſion of the whole wing from its Roman deſignation; as the converters ſeem to have retired only from the great bath there, to the ſmall one on the north of it. "*This* bath," notes Dr. Lucas, "ſeems

* Sutherland i. 17. † Ibid. i. 21. ‡ Ibid.

to have undergone *ſome alteration*; the baſe of the ſemicircle *is filled up about the height of five feet, upon which two ſmaller pilaſters were ſet,*" (by *Romans* aſſuredly ſet, becauſe *pilaſters* were not made by Saxons,) "on either ſide from the area, between two ſeparate flights of ſteps into the ſemi-circular part, *which ſeems to be all that was reſerved for a bath*" by theſe later Romans.* "To the northward of theſe," adds Dr. Lucas, concerning the two chambers for domeſtics, there appear ruins of two other (but) ſquare chambers, *of more ordinary work*," † and therefore the rooms probably for the clergymen attending that chapel, as this contraction of the baths, which took place (we conjecture) when Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed, a ſmaller ſupply of water would be ſufficient; and a ſluice from the King's bath become a proper ſubſtitute for the ſpring itſelf. Accordingly we find, in the proſecution of Dr. Sutherland's diſcoveries, that "at the end" of the ſubterraneous paſſage in the center building, after this poſitively had been traced "24 feet" weſtward, "was found *a leaden ciſtern*, raiſed about three feet above the pavement" of the paſſage, "and even then *conſtantly overflowing with hot water.*"‡ Even "*from this* a channel is viſible in the pavement," adds the Doctor, "in a line of direction eaſtward, conveying the water to Lucas's ſemicircular "bath;" and in its courſe actually *croſſing* the ſtone that choaked the ſpring, as the ſpring was even then bubbling up in a part of the channel. Mr. Collinſon alſo informs us, that at the "ſemicircular" bath in the eaſtern wing "a ſmall channel for conveying the water ran along the bottom, *turning at a right angle towards the preſent King's Bath.*"§ And Leland conſummates all this evidence, by telling us, "ther goith a ſluce out of this" the King's "Bath, and ſervid in tymes paſt with water derivid out of it, *two places* in Bath Priorie *uſid for baths*, elſe *voide*, for in *them* be *no ſprings.*"‖

Concerning all this Mr. Warner ſays nothing becauſe he knows nothing. He only cites Collinſon, cites Leland, and cites an aſſerted tradition, even a pretended memory, of a hot ſpring in the priory,¶ though all in appearance contradictory to each other; and then leaves his reader as he muſt have felt himſelf, in a whirl of confuſion about all. Yet was this ſpring found, as Mr. Warner intimates it was, "four feet deeper" than the other ſpring; and had therefore been "the earlieſt" of all incloſed by the Romans? We have ſeen already where the ſpring actually lay. There at digging for the foundation of the two houſes now built upon the ſite of the Abbey-houſe, a workman raiſing up accidentally the covering-ſtone with his pickaxe, he ſaw a ſtrong ſpring of water inſtantly guſh up, and he found it to be hot by his feelings. The diſcovery was purſued, the water was

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* Sutherland i. 17, from Lucas. † Sutherland i. 19, ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Warner 22, 23. ‖ Itin. xi. 66. ¶ Warner 22, 23. 318 and 115. In 115 he completes the contradictorineſs by ſtating, that Biſhop John de Villula "built *two new baths* within its, the abbey's, precincts."

collected,

collected, and a bath was formed. The corporation, who had ſucceeded the abbey in its rights over the baths by a grant from Elizabeth, and ſo had got Edgar's grant to the abbey tranſmitted to themſelves, took an immediate alarm at this interference with their rights from the long-loſt rights of the abbey; and endeavoured to ſhow the new ſpring was only the ſpring of their King's bath, intercepted at the abbey before it arrived at the bath. This fancy ſo naturally excited by the adventure, was ſupported, in ſome meaſure, by Dr. Sutherland; who, in the rage of ſpeculation ſaid, "we may venture to pronounce, that the great ſpring, which now riſes in the King's bath, *once roſe* in the *weſtern* wing of the antient Roman ſtructure."* So prompted, ſo encouraged, the corporation however atteſted that plan not loſt, and put themſelves to the great expence of making a new drain for the King's bath, in a fond conceit that the water of the old drain came bubbling up in the new ſpring; but did not in the leaſt degree affect the new ſpring. They even affected not a ſecond ſpring which was found afterwards in the *weſtern* part of the ruins, which was aſſuredly therefore what "once roſe in" or at "the *weſtern* wing of the Roman ſtructure;" but which, however neceſſary when there were two wings of baths, was now as ſuperfluous at leaſt as when the ſluice was made, and was therefore ſuppreſſed as both had been before. But theſe efforts made by the corporation ſhow us, that the abbey-ſpring, now uſed, is actually low of itſelf, that theſe ruins about it were neceſſarily as low as it, and that the abbey-baths were formed only *coeval* with all the others.†

(*To be continued.*)

The Hiſtory of Scotland, &c. By Malcolm Laing, Eſq.

(*Concluded from* Vol. ix. p. 378.)

THIS author is extremely deſirous to make it believed by the public, that hoſtilities were commenced by the King; and yet he tells us, in the very ſame paragraph, in which this is aſſerted, that while the regal forces were yet at York, the three principal fortreſſes in Scotland were ſurpriſed by the rebels! In one part of his book he condemns Charles for having contemptuouſly rejected the petitions of the covenanters; and yet when treating of the pacification at Berwick, he expreſſes himſelf thus:

"The commiſſioners had ſcarcely aſſembled in Lord Arundel, the General's tent, (Lord Arundel was a tent!) when the King unexpectedly entered, in order, he ſaid, to refute the calumny that his ear was impervious

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* Sutherland i. 21.

† To the information of the obliging Mr. Sloper, and his unnumbered converſations with Mr. Wake, his late partner, we owe the facts here ſtated,

to the complaints of his Scottiſh ſubjects; but from that moment an end was put to a free conference, mutual explanation, and the minute adjuſtment which a permanent treaty muſt always require!"

Unfortunate Charles, by what conduct could you have eſcaped the cenſure of an hiſtorian, who blames you equally for having *refuſed* to ſee, and for having *actually ſeen* the commiſſioners of the covenanted Scotch?

But, "no cordial accommodation was attainable, unleſs the acts of the famous Aſſembly were either confirmed or renewed," i. e. unleſs the King yielded every thing to the Rebels, and the Rebels yielded nothing to the King! "A conciliatory meaſure, however, was adopted; a new Aſſembly was called as a ſubſtitute for one which the King was unwilling to acknowledge, and the Scots (the rebels) to diſclaim. The commiſſioner appointed to that Aſſembly was inſtructed to ſubſcribe the covenant, as it was originally framed; to prohibit the Liturgy, but *not as ſuperſtitious*; to repeal the articles of Perth,* yet not as if abjured in the confeſſions of faith; to remove the high commiſſion, the canons and epiſcopacy, *not however as unlawful*, but, if neceſſary to prevent a rupture, as *inconſiſtent with the conſtitutions of the Scottiſh church.*"

Surely ſuch conceſſions were ſufficient to reſtore peace and harmony between the King and his ſubjects, and to mollify even the ſtubborn ſpirit of the Covenanters. No, ſays our author; "under theſe faſtidious diſtinctions, we diſcern *a latent, refined duplicity*;" and Charles, to prove himſelf *ſincere*, ſhould have given the lie to the dictates of his own mind; ſhould have ſtigmatized as ſuperſtitious what he conſidered as neceſſary to preſerve the purity of public devotion; and have condemned as unlawful what he *believed* to be the apoſtolical conſtitution of the Chriſtian Church!!

Of the ſincerity of the Aſſembly Mr. Laing ſeems to have no doubt, though he ſays that—

"The liturgy, the canons and high commiſſion, the articles of Perth, epiſcopacy, and its *corrupt* aſſemblies, the admiſſion of churchmen to ſeats in parliament, were enumerated in the language of the Aſſembly, as *ſuperſtitious, tyrannical*, or *adverſe to the confeſſion of faith!* Whether epiſcopacy were condemned as repugnant to the conſtitutions, or as unlawful within the pale of a particular church, muſt appear an immaterial difference, unworthy to form an obſtacle to a national ſettlement; yet on this minute diſtinction, the King refuſed his aſſent to the concluſions of the Aſſembly, which the parliament was appointed by the pacification to confirm."

And does our author, indeed, expect to miſlead any perſon by ſuch abſurd reaſoning and ſuch an unfair ſtatement of facts as this? To the Covenanters it was, indeed, a matter of no moment whether epiſcopacy was condemned as repugnant to the conſtitutions (whatever be meant by that word) or only as unlawful within the pale of the

* See Anti-Jacobin Review, vol. ix. p. 311.

Church

Church of Scotland, provided it was condemned by competent authority; but to the King, who believed it to be an apoſtolical inſtitution, and had promiſed to ratify the deciſion of a *free* Aſſembly on the ſubject, it was ſurely of much conſequence, that words of no importance to the cauſe, but of ſuch a meaning that he could not avow them, ſhould not, in direct contradiction to the terms of agreement at Berwick, be employed in the ſentence paſſed againſt epiſcopacy, the liturgy, articles of Perth, canons and high commiſſion. Nothing was on this occaſion required from the Aſſembly but a ſmall portion of good manners and ſome regard to the conſcience of their ſovereign who was ſacrificing to them objects on which he had ſet his heart: what they required of him, was to declare in parliament a form of church-government unlawful in itſelf, which he believed to be apoſtolical, and which he was bound to maintain in his other two kingdoms! Yet does our author, without paſſing the ſlighteſt cenſure on the inſolence of this Aſſembly, condemn the king for refuſing his aſſent to its concluſions!!

But the King had other reaſons for refuſing his aſſent to the concluſions of this Aſſembly. He complained, as we learn from Spalding,* that,—

"Whereas it is declared that his Majeſty did not approve the late pretended Aſſembly at Glaſgow, yet contrary to his Highneſs's pleaſure they preſs the ſubjects to ſubſcribe the approbation thereof, and to ſwear the ſame; and that whereas it pleaſed the King to grant a *free* Aſſembly, expecting a choice of ſic (ſuch) commiſſioners as might ſtand with his Highneſs's authority, they perverted his ſubjects by anticipating their votes, in making them *ſwear to* and *ſubſcribe the acts of the pretended Aſſembly holden at Glaſgow*, and making choice of ſuch commiſſioners, *and no others, as adhered thereunto and by oath were bound to maintain the* ſame; and further deterred others whom his Majeſty called to the next Aſſembly by his lawful warrant, threatening them with *the loſs of their lives if they repaired thither!!*"

When the King believed the Aſſembly to be packed in this manner, is it wonderful that he heſitated about confirming its deciſions?

The conduct of the parliament, which met ſoon after the Aſſembly, was not more favourable to the authority of the King than that of the Aſſembly itſelf. By the conſtitution of the Scottiſh Government, the parliament was compoſed of three eſtates which aſſembled in one chamber; and it was underſtood by both parties that the parliament, which was to meet on this occaſion, would be incomplete, and its acts of no validity "unleſs a third eſtate were previouſly created to ſupply the abſence and abrogation of the ſpiritual." We inquire not, at preſent, whether theſe opinions were juſt: it is ſufficient that they were admitted, and that it was agreed as well by the Commiſſioner as

* Vol. 1ſt. p. 184.

by the two eſtates of parliament which had met, that fourteen men, under the denomination, ſays our author, of *lay-abbots*, ſhould be appointed to ſupply the place of the fourteen biſhops. The nomination of theſe abbots was claimed by the Commiſſioner as belonging to the King in virtue of his royal prerogative; but this claim, ſays Mr. Laing, was rejected, becauſe their very nomination would have rendered "ſuch abbots ſubſervient and devoted to the crown."

This perhaps is true, but it was the inevitable conſequence of the acts of the Aſſembly; for the temporal as well as the ſpiritual powers of the prelates being aboliſhed, if a third eſtate was neceſſary, there was no authority known to the conſtitution by which it could be created, but the authority of the King. Till the parliament was conſtituted, the Lords and Commons were nothing more than individuals poſſeſſing no legiſlative authority whatever, whereas the King had an unqueſtioned right to create lay-peers; and during the eſtabliſhment of epiſcopacy, to nominate biſhops to the vacant Sees. The nobles and burgeſſes, however, with the commiſſioners for the barons (though our author *forgets* the circumſtance) aſſumed to themſelves this part of the royal prerogative, and by a plurality of votes, ſays Spalding, found that they had a right to chooſe fourteen perſons to ſupply the place of the ſpiritual eſtate! The King juſtly alarmed by ſuch a violent encroachment on his prerogative, as well as by other proceedings in direct contradiction, both to the letter and to the ſpirit of the pacification at Berwick, haſtily prorogued the parliament; and this was a ſignal to the Covenanters for throwing off the maſk by which their principles had hitherto been ſo thinly veiled.

"The earls of Dunfermline and Loudon were diſpatched to court, as Commiſſioners to vindicate the acts, and to remonſtrate againſt the prorogation of parliament, which the eſtates declared unprecedented and illegal without their conſent!! but as a mark of obedience they agreed to diſperſe."

That the party, who could reaſon and act in this manner, had formed the deſign of aboliſhing the royal authority in Scotland, will hardly be doubted by any man who knows how to draw an inference from premiſes. It is not, therefore, wonderful that,—

"The proceedings of parliament had furniſhed ample provocation, in the opinion of Charles, to produce or to juſtify a national quarrel, and to convince the Engliſh that it was no longer an epiſcopal war, originating from a devout or ſuperſtitious ritual, and waged for the preſervation of epiſcopal power; but that a revolution in the government, and the deſtruction of regal authority were deſigned;" for had not great part of the Engliſh been, by this time, embarked in the ſame cauſe, they would themſelves have ſeen, without the aid of "Laud's bigotry or Wentworth's violence, that the demands of the Scottiſh parliament ſtruck directly at the roots of monarchy."

That the Covenanters had determined to maintain thoſe demands by force, is rendered incontrovertible, by a letter "produced by Traqueir,

queir, which had been written *before* the pacification by Loudon, ſubſcribed by ſeven of the chief nobility, and addreſſed to the French King, to juſtify their conduct and implore his aſſiſtance." As the letter had no date, we might aſk our author how he came to know that it was written *before* the pacification at Berwick? but this is a circumſtance of no moment, ſince he admits it to have been genuine, and acknowledges that "the diſcovery revealed the ſecret reſources of the Scots, and was aggravated (what was aggravated?) as a tranſference of their allegiance to a foreign Prince, and the introduction of a foreign force into Britain."

They did not, however, truſt entirely to a foreign force. Having paid no regard to that article of the pacification at Berwick, in which they had promiſed to aboliſh every kind of authority not known to the conſtitution, they ſtill continued to be directed by the *Tables.*

"Suſpicious even in diſbanding their army, that the pacification was inſincere, they had retained the officers as countrymen who had reſigned their rank and emoluments abroad, to whom a grateful ſubſiſtence was therefore due. The country was ſtored with arms, and aſſured, that on the firſt appearance of danger, the ſoldiers would return to the banners of the covenant, they remained in quiet expectation that the Parliament would re-aſſemble when the prorogation had expired."

It did re-aſſemble, and continued ſitting in contempt of the King, who prorogued it a ſecond time; and during the receſs a bond had been circulated through the kingdom by the Tables, to be ſubſcribed by every man who valued their friendſhip. It is too long to be inſerted here, but it may be ſeen in Spalding's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 204, &c. and the object of it was to compel every man to contribute to the *good cauſe*—the reformation of religion—ſuch a ſum of money as ſhould be required of him by four men to be appointed (we ſuppoſe by the *Tables*) as aſſeſſors within each preſbytery of the kingdom!

"This bond," ſays Spalding, "was marvellous in the ſight of the people, ſo doubtfully and ambiguouſly drawn up, as none knew to whom he was bound, and left blank. Ilk (each) man's eſtate to be valued, and conform thereto to make payment, without warrant of the King or authority of Parliament, but extended by ſubjects upon grounds of troubles begun by themſelves, and for their own relief, to implore ſums upon ſubjects!"

Our prudent author paſſes unnoticed this bond impoſed upon the people by the ſelf-conſtituted Tables; but he admits that by the rebellious Parliament, which, ſitting in contempt of the King, had no better authority,—

"A tenth of rents, and the twentieth penny of intereſt were impoſed as an aſſeſſment for the defence of the country; and before the Parliament adjourned, a committee of eſtates was ſelected to *ſuperintend, at the camp and in the capital, the operations of war!* The royal aſſent, in which the ſtatutes

were ſtill defective, was ſupplied by *a bond to ſupport the authority of Parliament*; and from the exigencies of their ſituation, *the executive power was transferred entire to the committee of eſtates!!*"

Thus was monarchy aboliſhed in Scotland, and nothing was left for the unhappy Charles but either to abdicate the throne by a formal deed, or to recover poſſeſſion of it by force of arms. That he did not chooſe the former part of the alternative is probably matter of deep regret to our author; that he failed in attempting the latter is undoubtedly matter of delight to him who could thus expreſs himſelf when deſcribing the preparations of the Covenanters for war.

"From the want of ſupplies, the preparations were retarded on each ſide till the cloſe of ſummer; but the poverty of the Scots were relieved by the active emulation of all ranks. Their plate was brought to the mint; the wealthy contributed, or interpoſed their credit for loans of money; voluntary collections were raiſed at the churches; cloth for tents was provided by the women; and every difficulty was ſurmounted by a generous maxim, that *the true ſinews of war were a national cauſe*, and *ſoldiers not to be procured for money, but able to* PROCURE IT WHEREVER THEY WERE CONDUCTED."

This maxim is undoubtedly *generous*; for after enabling the Scotch covenanters to ſurmount ſo many difficulties, it has lent the ſame aid to the predatory armies of France in their diſintereſted attempts to republicanize the world!

We truſt that the reader is now acquainted with the author's principles, and able to eſtimate the force of that reaſoning upon which he pronounces Charles guilty of having commenced againſt the Scotch, an unprovoked war. We ſhall not follow him through the proſecution of that war; for the public operations of it are known to every perſon; and Mr. Laing differs from preceding hiſtorians only in repreſenting the duplicity of the Scotch as neceſſary caution, the conceſſions of the King as inſtances of inſincerity, every rebel, whether Scotch or Engliſh, as a generous patriot, and every loyaliſt as a weak or corrupted courtier! Laud, though he condemned the raſh and imprudent conduct of the Scotch Biſhops, is by him made anſwerable for all the conſequences which flowed from that conduct. Burnet, Biſhop of Sarum, though, in his various writings he contradicts himſelf, is the moſt faithful and accurate of hiſtorians! Strafford, becauſe he deſerted the patriots when they deſerted the conſtitution, was a man of violence and author of the war! And Montroſe is repreſented as a monſter of cruelty, in direct contradiction to the teſtimony of ſome of the authors to whoſe evidence he appeals in the margin of his book! The memory of that hero ſeems indeed to be peculiarly obnoxious to Mr. Laing, who characterizes him as *generous* without *humanity*, and endeavours to make him ridiculous for having, the night before his execution, reduced to verſe one of the nobleſt ſentiments that were ever conceived by the mind of man!

But we paſs on to the concluſion of this diſaſtrous reign, where Mr. Laing profeſſes to have made his ſecond great diſcovery. As the Scotch Covenanters, the Engliſh Preſbyterians, and the novel ſect of Independents were all leagued againſt the conſtitution, for which the King was *now* certainly fighting; it was natural, and, we muſt have leave to think, praiſe-worthy in Charles to diſſolve, if he could, that ill-cemented alliance. Had he ſucceeded in turning the ſwords of thoſe factions againſt each other, the Royaliſts might once more have got the aſcendancy, the conſtitution have been preſerved, and his own life ſaved. For making the attempt, however, he is ſeverely blamed by our author, who charges him with the groſſeſt duplicity, becauſe he entered into ſecret treaties with bodies of men who could not with honour deſert each other! But he brings forward no evidence that his Majeſty gave to any one of them a promiſe which he might not conſcientiouſly have fulfilled; and he admits that in his deepeſt diſtreſs, he refuſed to violate his coronation oath by ſubſcribing the covenant, or the eternal laws of morality by ſacrificing his friends to the fury of their enemies. His coronation oath, indeed, Mr. Laing ſeems to think was not obligatory, becauſe "it reſpected the ſhifting and inſignificant forms of religion;" but the covenant, though it likewiſe reſpected the forms of religion, and had been impoſed upon the ſubjects by no legal authority, could not poſſibly be abandoned without guilt and diſhonour!

A vain attempt is next made to vindicate the Scotch, when the King had put himſelf under their protection, from having ſold him to the Engliſh army his known and implacable enemies. That he was given up to the army is admitted; and it is certainly a matter of very little conſequence, whether this was done for a mere bribe, to obtain payment of the arrears due by the Parliament, to thoſe by whom his Majeſty was ſo baſely betrayed, or becauſe he would not grant all their new and extravagant demands. On any one of theſe ſuppoſitions, the Covenanters (for we accuſe not the Scottiſh nation) brought a ſtain upon their honour, which a thouſand ſuch writers as our author will never wipe away.

When he comes to the King's negociations with Cromwell and the army, he contends that, in their profeſſions to reſtore his power, thoſe fanatics were ſincere; for the virtue of ſincerity is beſtowed with a bountiful hand on all but the Royaliſts and their unhappy Maſter! Though the army had treated with inſolence and contempt, that very Parliament, by the authority of which, it was embodied againſt the King; and though Cromwell retained his command in defiance of the ſelf denying ordinance, which he himſelf had formed, yet, ſays Mr. Laing, neither he nor the other generals had forfeited "the confidence which is due between man and man!" He therefore condemns Charles in terms of the utmoſt ſeverity, for negociating at the ſame time with the army, the Scotch, and the Parliament; and giving credit to the ſtory of an intercepted letter, which Hume and every other hiſtorian of judgment have rejected with contempt,

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he thinks Cromwell was juſtifiable in cutting off the King, as the only ſtep which could be taken to ſave himſelf and the other independents! This is the great diſcovery which he has made of the *cauſe of the death of Charles!* It would be an affront to the underſtanding of our readers to make upon it a ſingle remark, after what has been ſaid by Hume of the intercepted letter, for granting that Coke, the author of the ſtory, was, in 1657, a member of the *Rata-club*, does that circumſtance entitle him to credit? or muſt we give implicit credit to Cromwell, when framing the beſt apology which he could for a crime that was loudly condemned by all Europe, and of which the atrocity muſt ſometimes have been painted in hideous colours, even on his own hardened conſcience?

But Mr. Laing's facts and his reaſonings are almoſt conſtantly at variance through the whole of his detail of the civil wars. The object of his reaſonings is to prove that Charles loſt his crown and his life through his own duplicity; whilſt the facts, which he records, exhibit the Monarch as reſerved, unaccommodating, and determined in his purpoſes. It is, indeed, impoſſible to believe that duplicity was the beſetting ſin of Charles. That he was poſſeſſed of very conſiderable talents has never been controverted; of his perſonal courage we have ſome ſtriking inſtances in the work before us; and no man can doubt, but that had he cordially embraced the cauſe of the army towards the end of his reign, he would very ſoon have cruſhed both the Parliament and the Scotch Covenanters. Had he been, as our author repreſents him, a ſtranger to the virtue of ſincerity, what could have hindered him from making ſuch an option? His ſon, who was a maſter of political craft, gave way, firſt to one faction and then to another, till the conduct of them all became execrable to the nation; and the King reigned, by general conſent, a deſpot without controul. The father's virtues were not ſo complying, and to thoſe virtues he fell a ſacrifice.

That he urged, with too great precipitancy, the uſe of the ſervice-book in the Church of Scotland cannot be denied; and that all his misfortunes may be dated from that period we readily acknowledge; but we cannot think his conduct *criminal*, for he was unqueſtionably miſled by the Marquis of Hamilton and the Scotch Biſhops. The Marquis ſeems to have been a very crooked politician; and, notwithſtanding the piety, wiſdom, and long experience of Spottiſwood, the Biſhops in a body acted with the raſhneſs of children. Laud had intreated them to procure the previous conſent of the Privy Council and Nobility, to the introduction of the canons and the uſe of the liturgy, and to attempt nothing contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom. Had they followed this advice, they would probably have gained their aim; for we are aſſured by Spalding, that the Biſhop of Roſs had "uſed the ſervice-book peaceably within his cathedral each Sabbath-day for the ſpace of two years;" but they were at no pains to prepare the minds of the people for ſo great an innovation; and an abſurd jealouſy of the independence of their church

church made them deviate in many places of their liturgy from the liturgy of the Church of England. On the whole, though Charles undoubtedly committed many errors, which we *now* ſee, ſuch was the difficulty of his ſituation, that even a retroſpect of his reign does not enable us more, than it enabled Hume, to ſay what he could have done to enſure ſucceſs; and we are not aſhamed to avow our conviction, that, though unfortunate, he was one of the greateſt and beſt of Engliſh monarchs.

We cannot take leave of this reign without noticing our author's ſtrictures on the *Icon Baſilike*, which he is very confident was a political impoſture, the compoſition of Dr. Gauden. Leſs confidence would certainly have become a man who ſeems to know ſo very little of the ſtate of the controverſy, as not even to have heard of Warburton's Reply to Neal's account of the origin of the *Icon!*

For the King's being the author, there is, ſays Warburton, "evidence of the King's bed-chamber, who ſwear they ſaw the progreſs of the *Icon*—ſaw the King write it—heard him ſpeak of it as his—and tranſcribe parts of it for him. It appears, by the wretched falſe taſte of compoſition in Gauden's other writings, that he was utterly incapable of writing this book. Again conſider what credit is to be given to Gauden's aſſertion of his authorſhip. He confeſſes himſelf an impoſtor, who impoſed a ſpurious book on the public in the King's name. Was not a man ſo ſhameleſs, capable of telling this lie for a biſhoprick, which he was ſoliciting on the pretended merit of this work? As to *Walker*, it is agreed that Gauden told him, that he (Gauden) was the author of the book, and that he ſaw it in Gauden's hand-writing; which is well accounted for by a ſervant, a tithe-gatherer of Gauden's,* who ſwears that Gauden borrowed the book of one of the King's friends (to whom it was communicated by the King for their judgments) to tranſcribe; that he (Gauden) ſet up all night to tranſcribe it, and that he (the tithe-gatherer) ſat up with him to ſnuff his candles, and mend his fire. It is agreed that Charles II. and the Duke of York believed on the word of Gauden, when he ſolicited his reward, that he wrote it; and what they believed, Lord Clarendon would believe too."

But our author builds much on a note, ſaid to be prefixed by the Earl of Angleſea to a copy of the book, which was diſcovered at the revolution after his death, and aſcribed it to Dr. Gauden, on the authority of Charles II. and his brother. Though the reader ſees that this is ſtill the ſame evidence, it may not be improper to make him acquainted with the hiſtory of the pretended note.

"King Charles II. and the Duke of York both in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament 1675, when I ſhewed them the written copy of this book, wherein are ſome corrections written with the late King Charles's own

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* The man's name was William Allen, and he ſwore that Gauden borrowed the book from the King's chaplain, and was obliged to return it within a certain time.

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hand, assured me that this was none of the said King's compiling, but made by Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, which I here insert for the undeceiving others, &c."

Such is the note said to have been prefixed by the Earl of Anglesea to a copy of the *Icon*, which, after his Lordship's death, came into the hands of Millington a bookseller; but when Lord Altham, the Earl of Anglesea's son, requested Millington to shew him the work, containing such information in the hand-writing of his father, he was put off from day to day by one frivolous excuse after another, and never had an opportunity of ascertaining the fact. Millington treated Wagstaffe in the very same manner; upon which he and Lord Altham both concluded the note to be a forgery; and the reasons which determined his lordship's judgment seem to be unanswerable. The style of the note, confused and clogged with parentheses, bore no resemblance to that of his father; he never heard his father question the King's being the author of the Icon, or say a single word of his conference with Charles II. or his brother on the subject; and though the Earl kept a diary, in which every occurrence of the smallest importance was regularly inserted, it contained nothing relating to the forgery of the *Icon* or this memorandum! When to all this we add that Millington, when he sold the copy to which was prefixed Lord Anglesea's note, cut out the leaf and kept it to himself, carefully concealing it from every man acquainted with his Lordship's handwriting, we cannot entertain a doubt but that this note was a forgery, gross as that of Milton, when he inserted into the *Icon* the prayer of Pamela.

But the style of the *Icon*, says Mr. Laing, is superior to that of the certain productions of Charles's pen; and for the truth of this remark, he refers us to the King's papers in the controversy with Henderson. To what is called *internal evidence* arising from style, we are not accustomed in controversies of this kind, to pay much regard; but if the style of the King's first letter to Henderson be not at least equal to that of the first section of the Icon, we are less qualified than we are willing to believe to pass any judgment on questions respecting style. Perhaps our author mistook Henderson's papers for those of the King; for in elegance of composition, they are indeed greatly inferior to the *Icon!*

On the whole, though we cannot write with such confidence on the one side as our impartial historian does on the other, we heartily agree with Bishop Warburton, that "the strongest and most unexceptionable evidence" is in behalf of the King's being the author of the *Icon*.

The state of affairs in Scotland, during the interval that passed between the murder of Charles I. and the restoration of his son, presents very few events which our author deems worthy of a place in his narrative. The ill success of the Covenanters when attempting to place their young Sovereign on the throne of his ancestors, he attributes

butes not to their religious folly in purging their army from *malignants* and *engagers*, i. e. from Royaliſts and moderate Preſbyterians, but to their recalling the King precipitately, at a time when the nation was unable either to ſupport his rights, or aſſert its own independence. But does Mr. Laing indeed imagine, that the Scottiſh nation could have become more able to ſupport thoſe rights or aſſert that independence at any ſubſequent period during the life of Cromwell? The murder of the late King, and ſubjugation of the Engliſh Parliament by that warlike hypocrite, had united three fourths of the people of both kingdoms againſt the deſpotiſm of the army; and had the Scotch, inſtead of waſting time in making Charles II. do penance for the idolatries of his mother, and the errors of his father's houſe, availed themſelves of this circumſtance by marching rapidly into England, they might have reſtored the monarchy, even on the terms of their favourite covenant, before the General could have cruſhed both the Royaliſts and Engliſh Preſbyterians. Inſtead of this, when Charles was, by their abſurd conduct at home, induced to lead his army acroſs the Tweed and try his fortune in this country, they iſſued proclamations before him, forbidding all who were not ready to ſubſcribe *the ſolemn league and covenant*, to join the royal ſtandard! By this intemperate zeal they ſhewed the Epiſcopal Church of England, that her worſhip would not be ſo much as tolerated ſhould they prove ſucceſsful; and thus depriving themſelves of the aid of the Cavaliers, is it wonderful that they and their country proved an eaſy conqueſt to the veteran troops of Cromwell?

Mr. Laing gives a very curſory account of the eſcape of the King after the battle of Worceſter, becauſe "it has been frequently related, he ſays, and is perhaps ſufficiently known." But were this a good reaſon for ſilence, his whole work might have been ſuppreſſed; for it contains not one fact which has not been frequently related, and is not perhaps ſufficiently known. A better reaſon is, that the eſcape was effected by the fidelity of Engliſhmen, whoſe deeds this hiſtory profeſſes not to record; but after deviating ſo far from the affairs of Scotland as to abuſe Laud and Wentworth for their violence againſt the covenant, he might ſurely have found room for the *names* at leaſt of thoſe "fifty perſons, who were entruſted, at different times, with the King's concealment."

In the work of the reſtoration, he is not inclined to allow much merit to Monk, whoſe faults he conſtantly aggravates on the authority of Burnet and other writers of as little credit; and forgetting what he had ſaid of the coronation oath of Charles I. he thus expreſſes himſelf on the conduct of his ſon.

"In the ſettlement of an eccleſiaſtical government Charles was peculiarly embarraſſed by the treaty at Breda. When invited to Scotland, on his father's death, he had ſworn and ſubſcribed the covenant, and confirmed the preſbyterian church as the conditions of his acceſſion, and although the nation was unable to preſerve him on the throne, the oaths renewed at his coronation remained unrepealed. If it was difficult to obſerve, it was diſhonourable to violate

violate the conditions formerly accepted, when there was no choice unleſs to relinquiſh the crown; but if the word of a prince is to be reputed ſacred, no violence, nor ſtate neceſſity could afford a pretext to diſpenſe with his oaths."

That no violence nor ſtate neceſſity can afford a pretext to diſpenſe with *lawful* oaths, is a truth to which we cordially aſſent; but was the oath which Charles I. had *voluntarily* taken to ſupport the Church of England in all her legal privileges, leſs obligatory than the oaths which his ſon had taken by *conſtraint* to *extirpate popery and prelacy* by force, and to eſtabliſh the Preſbyterian Church in his three kingdoms? If not, upon what principle does our pious and conſiſtent author cenſure the virtuous father for adhering to his coronation oath, and likewiſe the profligate ſon for *not* adhering to his?

We have next a lamentable howl over the ſanguinary proceedings of the firſt Scottiſh parliament that aſſembled after the reſtoration; and yet of the immenſe number of rebels and traitors which abounded in that kingdom, none are mentioned by our author as ſuffering by the decrees of that aſſembly, except Argyle, Guthrie, a moſt turbulent clergyman, and Biſhop Burnet's uncle, Wariſton, the moſt outrageous of all the covenanters. Our author's account of the reſtoration of epiſcopacy, and the character which he has drawn of Sharp, the primate, ſeem to be ſufficiently accurate; and we heartily agree with him, in reprobating the perſecution which was occaſionally carried on, during the whole of this reign, againſt the ejected miniſters, and their covenanted adherents. We ſhould, however, have given more implicit credit to his detail of theſe enormities, had we found him quoting other authorities than thoſe of Burnet, Calderwood, Woodrow, and ſomething that he calls "cloud of witneſſes" of which we never heard before; whilſt his impartiality would certainly have appeared more conſpicuous, had he acknowledged that the ſeverities then experienced by the covenanters were not greater than thoſe, which, during the civil wars, they had themſelves inflicted on the adherents to the King and the Church. The truth is, that the principles of toleration were then ſo little underſtood, that perhaps neither party would have received, as a boon from the other, permiſſion to build ſeparate churches, and to worſhip God in its own way. The covenanters would certainly have rejected ſuch a boon with abhorrence, for they had ſworn to extirpate prelacy. Though Jeremy Taylor had publiſhed his admirable work, entitled, "*The Liberty of Prophecying*," &c. neither divines nor ſtateſmen in general had yet learned to diſtinguiſh properly between Judaiſm and Chriſtianity, or to perceive that coercion which was equitably employed by the theocracy to produce uniformity in religion, muſt, when applied for the ſame purpoſe by mere men, degenerate into the moſt iniquitous tyranny. Unfortunately the Miniſters to whom Charles chiefly entruſted the government of Scotland, were monſters of rapacity and cruelty, who employed perſecution as an engine to enrich themſelves by the forfeitures and fines exacted of the deluded fanatics, whom the ſeverity

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of government had driven into rebellion. That severity, however, is greatly aggravated, and the turbulence of the covenanters as much extenuated by our author, who, in every page of his work, makes an apology for the rebels, and sometimes represents, as cruelty in the administration, instances of mercy, to which, under any other government, it will not be easy to find a parallel.

The tyranny of Lauderdale, operating upon fanaticism, had produced frequent insurrections in the western and southern counties of the kingdom; and one of the field-preachers, in the midst of an armed audience, had affixed to the market-cross of Sanquhar a declaration, "that although descended from the race of their ancient kings, Charles Stuart, by his perjuries in the breach of his covenanted vows, by his tyrannical government, and usurpation, over their civil and religious liberties, had dissolved their allegiance, and forfeited all right and title to the crown." About the same time another preacher, in a similar assembly, solemnly excommunicated, "the Dukes of Lauderdale, Rothes, Monmouth, York, and the King himself; a sentence ludicrous at present, but productive then of a deep and indelible impression on the whole sect." A great number of persons acting upon these principles had been taken prisoners with arms in their hands, tried for treason, found guilty, and condemned to death. When brought to the place of execution, their lives were offered to them, if they would barely say, "God bless the King;" and because such of them as would not give that test of their allegiance, suffered the punishment due to their crimes, our *humane* author accuses the Duke of York, then King's Commissioner, of savage cruelty!! That unhappy prince had many faults, both in his subordinate administration of the kingdom of Scotland, and in his supreme administration of three kingdoms, after he succeeded to his brother's throne; but the man, who can consider this conduct as *cruel*, must have very singular notions of the reciprocal duties of sovereign and subject.

Though we have no inclination to extenuate the crimes of Charles II. or his Ministers, justice imperiously demands of us to inform our readers that the facts, recorded by Mr. Laing, upon which he brings against them charges of incredible atrocities, are all taken from Burnet, Woodrow, and other writers notoriously prejudiced against the whole House of Stuart. No man, therefore, can with safety trust to his account of the transactions of that reign, or believe, upon his bare assertion, that, even in Scotland, the tyranny of Charles equalled that of Nero. The truth may be discovered by comparing different histories of the same period with each other; and if there be a man, who has read the work before us, without perceiving the party prejudices of its author, we beg leave to recommend to his attentive perusal, Sir George Mackenzie's *Vindication of the Government of Charles II.*—a work, we admit, partial to the other side, and Mac Pherson's *History of Great Britain* during the same reign.

On the history of the short reign of James II. we have very few remarks

remarks to make. Our author does not extenuate the errors of that monarch, and perhaps he does not greatly aggravate them; but he acts not the part of an impartial judge, when he conceals the acts which were employed to entangle him in thoſe errors. He ought likewiſe, in our opinion, to have mentioned the tumultuous joy of the Diſſenters, both in this country and in Scotland, on the King's illegal exerciſe of the diſpenſing power, and the numerous addreſſes preſented to him on that occaſion, in which the Preſbyterians ſpoke with affection of their *brethren, the Roman Catholics!* This, indeed, would have exhibited the Eſtabliſhed Church in both kingdoms as the ſureſt bulwark againſt the introduction of popery and arbitrary power; and Mr. Laing, we doubt not, has ſome cogent reaſon for wiſhing to repreſent the matter differently.

The reflection which he makes on the landing of the Prince of Orange at Torbay, is ſurely unſeaſonable. "It afforded," he ſays, "a ſignal proof to the nation, that its navy will not always prevent an invaſion, nor a ſtanding army enſure ſtability to the throne." It is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that our author meant, by this obſervation, to intimidate the people, threatened as they are with invaſion from France; for he has himſelf aſſured us, that "the reader will be diſappointed who expects to be gratified, in his work, with any pointed alluſions to the preſent times." But as it has often been remarked that England has never been invaded by any conſiderable force, without being in ſome ſenſe conquered, it is proper to add, that no conſiderable foreign force ever made good a landing in England, which was not previouſly invited by ſome powerful party in the kingdom. That this was the caſe at the revolution is univerſally known; and our author has completely proved that, had not James conducted himſelf with a degree of infatuation almoſt unparalleled in hiſtory, William, if not compelled to re-imbark his troops, would have found it very difficult to accompliſh the revolution.

His reflections on that great event, as conducted both in England and Scotland, do him honour; though we muſt ſo far diſſent from them as to prefer the cautious adherence of our own convention to forms, before the violence of the Scottiſh eſtates, which loſt ſight of the firſt principles of the conſtitution, and converted an hereditary into an elective monarchy. We likewiſe feel ourſelves obliged to admit, with much abatement, the panegyric which he makes on King William. Without wiſhing to detract from the real virtues of that monarch, his cool courage, and his attachment to his native country, and duly ſenſible of the benefits, which he was the inſtrument of conferring on Great Britain and Ireland, we yet find it difficult to believe that the motives which impelled him to invade the kingdoms of his uncle and father-in-law, were ſo very pure, as our author ſuppoſes. Whilſt James remained without a ſon, the Prince of Orange ſeemed not to conſider the royal prerogative as too high, or ſeverely to condem his violent exerciſe of it; and after he was ſeated on the throne, his reluctance to part with the Lords of the articles, and to fulfil the declaration of rights, the condi-

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tions upon which the Scotch had given him their crown, evince that Mr. Laing proceeds too far, when he says, that to "an invincible attachment to public liberty, the ambition of the King was a secondary subordinate passion." The massacre of Glencoe, of which we here have a tolerably accurate account, and the shuffling behaviour of William in the affair of Darien, are such instances of unprovoked cruelty, as far surpass the persecutions which excite our author's wailings when writing the history of the Second Charles. He attempts, indeed, to transfer the enormity of the massacre from the King to his ministers; but he might, at least, with as much reason, have attributed to the administration the enormity of the persecutions under Charles: but Charles was an hereditary sovereign of the House of Stuart, and *therefore* a Nero! William was, in Scotland, an elected Sovereign of another house, whose "reign, of course," was "mild and merciful!"

Our author's account of the union of England and Scotland into the one kingdom of Great Britain, would be extremely interesting were his style more perspicuous; but involved sentences, rendered still more obscure by the violation of grammar, which occur occasionally in every part of his work, are, in the last book so frequent, that we were often at a loss to discover his meaning. This is the more to be regretted, as the last book is by much the most valuable of the whole. He there traces, with the sagacity of a philosopher acquainted with the living world, the conduct of the various promoters and opposers of the Union to its real source; and shews, with the evidence of demonstration, that hardly one statesman concerned in the measure was actuated by real patriotism. The picture which he draws of the venality and poverty of the Scottish peers is truly curious; and as it is not the character of his countrymen to represent each other in the most unfavourable light, we may rest assured that the picture is not overcharged. The reward which the Earl of Marchmont received for consenting to the union, and abandoning his hereditary seat in Parliament, was 1104l. the Duke of Montrose sold the same privilege for 200l. and Lord Bamff for eleven pounds twelve shillings!! That such sacrifices were made for such paltry bribes is almost incredible; but our author assures us, that "the bribes are quite adapted to the poverty of the country in those times!" His reflections on the benefits which Scotland has reaped from the union are pleasing and just; and to his account of the present state of literature in that part of the United Kingdom, we have very few objections to make. Hume is certainly not so *original* a philosopher as Mr. Laing represents him; for the very first principles of his system are borrowed from Locke and Berkeley; and, in respect of utility or justness of thinking, who, that is at all acquainted with speculative science, will compare the metaphysical writings of Hume with those of Reid?

At the end of the work is *An Historical and Critical Dissertation on the supposed Authenticity of Ossian's Poems*, which we read with great

pleaſure. Our pleaſure, however, was not produced by the merits of the Diſſertation, but by its violence, which will ſurely provoke ſome candid man, who is at once maſter of the Erſe language, and acquainted with the traditions of the Highlands of Scotland, to give the queſtion a patient inveſtigation. To that inveſtigation we are not competent; and if we were, we have not room for it in a journal devoted to very different objects. Mr. Laing, convinced in his own mind, that the poems aſcribed to Oſſian are an impoſture of the eighteenth century, has laboured, he ſays, "to diſabuſe his countrymen, and, if poſſible, to put an end to the controverſy and deception for ever." We cannot believe that he has laboured with ſucceſs; and though the queſtion at iſſue is not, perhaps, of great importance, we ſhall be glad to ſee ſome Highland champion ſtep forward to repel this rude attack on the honour and veracity of his countrymen. Without entering at all into the merits of the cauſe, we ſhall venture to aſſure him, that he will not find his confident antagoniſt invulnerable. In proof of this it is ſufficient to obſerve, that what our author calls *hiſtorical detections* of the impoſture, proceed on this abſurd aſſumption; that we ought to find the moſt ſtrict chronological accuracy in poems preſerved for eight or nine centuries by oral recitation! Thus, if we find, in this long courſe of time, an event belonging to one century blended or conjoined with an event that belongs to another, we are to conclude the whole a modern fabrication! To us ſuch a concluſion would appear more fairly drawn from ſtrict accuracy in chronology, were ſuch accuracy found in the poems aſcribed to Oſſian.

The reader has now before him our opinion of this Hiſtory of Scotland, together with ſome of the reaſons on which that opinion reſts. The author himſelf wiſhes it to be conſidered as a continuation of Robertſon's; and of courſe calls upon the public to eſtimate their reſpective merits. The eſtimate may now be made; for the work before us has no reſemblance to that to which it profeſſes to be the ſequel: it has neither the profundity of reflection, nor the elegance of compoſition, which all men admire in Robertſon's Hiſtory of Scotland. In correctneſs both are, perhaps, deficient; but the defects of Mr. Laing are more prominent than thoſe of his predeceſſor; for Dr. Robertſon does not *often* contradict himſelf.

Mural Nights; or, Elements of Civil Knowledge. By H. R. Yorke, Eſq. 8vo. Pp. 336. 9s. Clement. 1801.

WHEN we turn our eyes from the few ſimple arts of unpoliſhed ſociety, where mental ſagacity is often as prominent as corporeal vigour, to that variety of arts and ſciences which flouriſh in an improved ſtate of civilization, where knowledge frequently oppreſſes the powers of the mind, and the body is weakened through indolence, we are almoſt ready to conclude, that the numerous inven-

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tions and discoveries of mankind have rather tended to perplex life with fresh causes of disquietude, than to increase, by adding to its comforts, the aggregate of human happiness.

But whatever may be said of our conclusion on this comparative view, it is certainly necessary to the well-being of an individual in a civilized country, to apply his mind to certain objects of science, or of art, as selected by choice, or as recommended by circumstance. And, perhaps, it will appear, that the arts and sciences, as diffused through communities, contribute to their welfare in no trifling degree.

With respect to the studies of an individual, the point on which we would chiefly insist is the usefulness of a *general attention* to the arts and sciences. The arts are divided into the necessary and the elegant. By the necessary, we mean every species of mechanical operation. By the elegant, we understand music, painting, and poetry. The sciences are more numerous—such as logic, mathematics, astronomy, metaphysics, &c.—Tracing the causes of their invention and their gradual progress and improvement, we should soon be convinced of their usefulness.

Now, if we consider the usefulness of a *general* knowledge of the arts and sciences, the question seems obvious—"Is it possible for one man to become master of them all?" That it is not possible seems as obvious an answer.

Of those who have been favoured with a liberal education, the elegant arts and sciences are objects well worthy regard. And a slight acquaintance with the principles of the mechanical arts may be attended with advantages by no means inconsiderable. We know, that men of the first rank among the Jews made some handicraft business a part of their children's education. But when we reflect on the variety of these pursuits, and the difficulties which attend the acquirement of a single art or science, and consider, also, the short time allotted for human existence, we are naturally discouraged; and shrinking back from the prospect, even prefer, for a moment, the open, though barren, paths of ignorance, to the trouble of pursuing our way through the mazes of artificial perplexity. That no man ever arrived at such a degree of perfection, as to possess a complete knowledge of all the arts and sciences, is an undoubted fact: that such a man has been imagined we readily allow: and we consider him as painted only by the fancy—"A perfect monster, whom the world never saw;" yet, though the attainments of him, who is said to possess universal knowledge, can only be superficial; an acquaintance with the general studies of the learned is preferable to an intimacy with a single branch of literature. In our Universities, it is expected that a competent knowledge, at least, of the sciences be gained, as well as that of the learned languages. This mode of education may be easily justified by the rules of sound sense; because it is likely to render a man more generally useful than he could possibly be, were his studies confined to any single art or science. He who restrains himself, for any long continuance, to one particular pursuit, will contract a narrow

way of thinking. But the man who is moderately acquainted with every branch of philology and ſcience muſt, doubtleſs, enlarge his ideas, and derive to himſelf infinite ſatisfaction in the courſe of his ſtudies. The moſt natural emotion in the human mind is curioſity. All men diſcover it: and in ſome or other of its objects, it affords much of the pleaſure which they enjoy. This inſatiable paſſion is gratified, in a high degree, by the novelties which ariſe from a variation of the vaſt ſcenery exhibited in the works of nature. By this paſſion we are inſpired with ardour in our ſtudies, and ſtimulated to perſeverance by the hope of new delight. An unremitting purſuit of thoſe objects, of which we have not attained a competent knowledge, is a certain indication of an inquiſitive or curious mind. Hence we may reaſonably infer, that a well-directed attention to the ſciences or arts, whoſe uſefulneſs or elegance may recommend them to our regard, muſt prove a ſource of more pleaſure, than the contracted ſtudy of any ſingle branch of literature. In the mean time it will be granted, that the former, from its diverſity, procures us only a ſuperficial knowledge; and that the latter may, poſſibly, render us perfect, or, at leaſt, able proficients in the ſubject of our choice. It ſeems, however, eaſy to evince the great advantage of the general purſuits which we have been recommending; whether it reſpect the pleaſure and intereſt of individuals or of ſociety.

A mediocrity of talents is the lot of the greater part of mankind. Men, in general, have neither ſtrength of intellect, nor opportunity for curious reſearch or deep inveſtigation. In the diſtribution of genius, nature has made no very ſtriking inequality in the human ſpecies. It is but once in an age, that ſhe exhibits to the world, a man of deciſively-ſuperior abilities. The pre-eminence of a Bacon, or a Shakeſpeare will always raiſe admiration. We have little encouragement, therefore, to imitate theſe great men in adhering: o one particular ſtudy; ſince, inſtead of deriving any ſatisaction to ourſelves, or affording real benefit to others, we thus offer up our lives a ſacrifice to viſionary hypotheſis or idle ſpeculations. Hence, then, we may be juſtified in concluding, that a moderate acquaintance with many things is not only more uſeful, but more pleaſurable, than a deep knowledge of a few. The value of every acquiſition muſt be eſtimated by its uſe. If the ſtreams of learning be diffuſed, they become ſhallow, we are told, in proportion to their diffuſeneſs. But this remains to be proved. It is well known, however, that the deepeſt rivers are often confined within their own banks, amidſt dreary and inhoſpitable tracts, whilſt a variety of diverging rills ſpread fertility and beauty where they flow.

With reſpect to the ſciences, few men will queſtion the uſefulneſs of a ſkill in the mathematics. By an attention to the mathematics, the mind is habituated to cloſe application, and thus rendered ſtrong and vigorous, and equal to the moſt arduous purſuits. Yet the life of a profeſſed mathematician is by no means enviable.

Puzzled

Puzzled by theorems and perplexed by problems, it muſt reſemble, to ſuperficial obſervers, a ſtream that is continually interrupted in its progreſs by broken rocks, and weeds, and briars: nor can it afford any ſenſible pleaſure to the ſtudent, unleſs ſome real good to his fellow-creatures accidentally reſult from it. The mathematician, we allow, experiences no little gratification, on ſurmounting difficulties, after many an obſtinate ſtruggle: but ſtill this gratification is ſelfiſh: it will not bear the teſt of cool reflecting reaſon. To look back on half one's days conſumed in a ſtudy that may have proved, every way, unprofitable, to the neglect of many uſeful things, is certainly no pleaſant retroſpect. And ſuch may be the caſe with the mathematician, before he has acquired a knowledge ſuperior to that of his brethren. From his ſedentary habits, alſo, he may probably have injured his health—from his ſolitary lucubrations, he may have rendered himſelf incapable of converſing—from the ſingularities of behaviour contracted in retirement, he may have ſhaped himſelf into an object of ridicule. The lovers of poetry may obſerve that learning, like this, muſt obſcure the brilliancy of fancy, muſt reſtrain the fine wanderings of imagination: for, we know that the muſes (in their very nature ſuperficial) never flouriſh under the auſpices of a Euclid.

With regard to the elegant arts, to poſſeſs a poetical taſte, muſt ſet off the character of a ſtudent in pleaſing colours, and may prove a ſource of the moſt rational amuſement.

But, to devote our days to poetry, would be to waſte that time amidſt the charms of a deluſive occupation, which ſhould be allotted to more ſerious employments. Perhaps the ſame may be obſerved of the other ſiſter arts, muſic and painting. As a relaxation from ſeverer ſtudies, they certainly merit our regard. But, to give up every hour to muſic, however tranſporting its melodies; or to painting, however exquiſite its touches, would be to degrade the dignity of rational beings.

But let the ſiſter arts be united with each other, they never appear ſo beautiful as when blended in gentle harmony. It is then, that they truly embelliſh life. Yet, we have few inſtances of a good poet, painter, and muſician, in the ſame perſon. In ſhort, we would recommend to the ſcientific genius, an attention to the arts; and to the elegant artiſt, a regard to the ſciences.

Mr. Burke has very juſtly remarked, that "without the poliſh of the elegant arts, the greateſt proficiency in the ſeverer ſciences will always have the appearance of ſomething illiberal." Poetry, the moſt elegant of the arts, is not only calculated to pleaſe but gives a refinement and energy to all our ſtudies. On the other hand, we might obſerve, "that without ſome ſcientific knowledge, the brighteſt poetical talents have always the appearance of ſomething ſuperficial." Philology, unaccompanied with ſcience, is deficient in dignity. Of our two rival Univerſities, perhaps Cambridge diſcovers too great a partiality to the mathematics; and Oxford to the claſſics. If to the elegance of the poliſhed ſcholar, we add the

eaſe of the accompliſhed gentleman, we ſhould contemplate almoſt a finiſhed character. Nor are the various acquirements we have mentioned, any way incompatible with the manners of the courtier. In the mean time, a profundity of ſcience, merely, is often accompanied with a repulſive ſeverity and a total ignorance of the world. The man of general, although ſuperficial, knowledge, has an opportunity of ſhining in all companies. He can never be at a loſs for a topic of converſation. If he poſſeſs a ſocial turn, it is in his power to form the moſt agreeable connexions: and, whilſt he exerts himſelf to entertain his friends, he muſt ſee a pleaſure diffuſed over every countenance, highly gratifying to his benevolence. But, on the contrary, the moroſe philoſopher, although weak as his fellow-creatures, looks down with an eye of contemptuous ſuperiority upon their various wanderings, and affects to pity the deluſion of mankind. Loſt in the abſtractions of ſcience—pale from ſtudiouſneſs—he feels no lively affections—no ſerenity of the mind, from the conſciouſneſs of generous activity. He may, as a learned author hath obſerved, "contemplate the moon through his teleſcope, and behold her ſeas, her mountains, and her promontries;" but, amidſt all his ſolitary triumphs, he is inſenſible to the trueſt delights of a rational creature: and, if he meditate, for a moment, on the pleaſures of ſociety, on the duties of life, on the deſtination of man, he cannot but ſhrink back from his own image, and deem, almoſt, his exiſtence thrown away, though conſcious, that—

"————————All the ſtars
"He knows by name, and all the ethereal powers."

The philoſophy of Ariſtippus was of a far different complexion from that we have been deſcribing. It qualified him for behaving, in all circumſtances, with propriety and gracefulneſs. It was not the philoſophy of the cloſet: it conſiſted in a general acquaintance with men and manners: it was a ſort of intuiton, that ſaw through the motives of action: it pierced the veil which hides thoſe ſecret principles from the vulgar eyes. Improved by ſcience, and finiſhed by experience, it traced through all their intricacies, and followed amidſt all their combinations, the wiſhes, the paſſions, and the purſuits of man.

In intuition, knowledge, perhaps, Cæſar reſembled Ariſtippus. But this knowledge was diſplayed in a very different manner, on very different ſcenes. Cæſar was one of the moſt complete characters that ever ſhone in the annals of hiſtory—a great leader, a polite ſcholar, an accompliſhed gentleman. In vain might the recluſe philoſopher, the mere plodder in ſcience, oppoſe his depth of knowledge to the variety of attainments poſſeſſed by an Ariſtippus or a Cæſar. He may ſtill languiſh in the gloom of obſcurity, debarred from the pleaſures of ſocial intercourſe.

Philoſophy, properly ſtudied and applied, has always a humanizing influence. It loſes, by communication, all its harſhneſs; and when mingled with the purſuits of ordinary life, aſſumes a new character.

Every

Every ſpecies, indeed, of literature and ſcience, muſt greatly contribute, in diffuſion, to the improvement of national manners. It was no inconſiderable objection to the boaſted inſtitutions of Lycurgus, that he neglected the cultivation of the polite arts, and turned the whole attention of the people to gymnaſtic and military exerciſes; as if the poſſeſſion of corporeal ſtrength and agility were the ſupreme happineſs of man. The Spartans, it is true, diſcovered, in war, what may be termed an energy of ſoul: but, amidſt all their animated exertions, they borrowed not a ray from philoſophy to chear the gloom of mental ignorance. We grant, that, in their ſchools and popular aſſemblies, they were taught to liſten to the inſtructions of heroes, and imbibed that martial ſpirit which prompted them to actions deemed illuſtrious. We grant, that practiſed in athletic exerciſes, ſkilled in all the manœuvres of the field, and inſpired by the genius of their country, they employed all the arts of ſtratagem with wonderful ſucceſs, or, by the more open method of reſiſtance, attracted the admiration of ſurrounding countries. Still, however, their virtues were of a moſt forbidding aſpect, unfriendly to humanity: ſtill the Spartans were ferocious—were barbarous. He who would picture the ſtories of Sparta, dipping his pencil in the glowing colours of panegyric, would raiſe only to our minds the moſt expreſſive imagery of imperfect civilization. Thoſe characters which adorn the heart, and dignify human nature, are loſt amidſt the viſionary deluſions of warlike virtue. It is from the polite arts that the miſeries, incidental to ſavage ſtates, have been alleviated—that amongſt a civilized people the pleaſures of ſociety are greatly heightened. There are ſome, however, who object to the diffuſion of literature, as productive of that refinement, which, in the more feeling mind, is wrought into faſtidiouſneſs, and in the leſs delicate, degenerate into effeminacy and ſenſuality. But, whatever may be ſaid of the faſtidiouſneſs of finer ſpirits, it requires very little experience to convince us, that effeminacy and ſenſuality flow not from the pure fountain of literature. The debauched, in general, are men of no intellectual cultivation. True philoſophy can never contribute to the corruption of manners. The characteriſtic features of the Athenian ſtate are ſtrikingly contraſted with thoſe of the Spartan. In Athens was centered the wiſdom of Greece; and from this ſeat of the Muſes was derived the literature of the ancient world. There heroes, unſeduced by the enthuſiaſm of military honour, which, in Sparta, abſorbed every other conſideration, diſmiſſed, for a while, the ideas of battles and of victories, and devoted their tranquil hours to the charms of philoſophy. There, nobles and ſtateſmen attended the lectures of a Socrates, or liſtened to the inſtructions of a Plato, amidſt the groves of Academus. Thither reſorted the princes of diſtant countries, to taſte the ſweets of learned leiſure, and enjoy the friendſhip and converſation of refined and elevated underſtandings. From this diffuſion of wiſdom and taſte aroſe the glory and the happineſs of the ſtate. But the diſſemination of knowledge in antient times was by no means extenſive, as oppoſed to the literature of the preſent day. It is for us to contemplate far more intereſting ſcenes than the

proſpects of antiquity; proſpects, which, though they pleaſe at a diſtance, becauſe adorned with ſome objects ſo luminous and ſtriking, as to awaken admiration in every beholder, are yet enveloped in a deep and heavy ſhade. The miſts, indeed, of ignorance and error were, in after ages, ſtill darker: but they fled before the radiance of truth and ſcience.

It is in our country that we may beſt obſerve the cultivation of manners, of reaſon, and of talents; that the mind, unſhackled by the fetters of bigotry or tyranny, exults in its native freedom, and purſues its flight through regions unexplored by former ages and nations; and that polite ſcholarſhip and liberal manners are ſure to meet their reward.

The peruſal of "Mural Nights," and ſeveral other works on the ſubject of education, ſome of a practical, but more of a ſpeculative nature, ſuggeſted to us the preceding remarks. In our critique on *Mural Nights*, their connection with the only practicable part of the volume, will fully appear to our readers.

[*To be concluded in our next.*]

Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland, from the Arrival of the Engliſh: alſo a particular Detail of that which broke out the 23d of May, 1798; with the Hiſtory of the Conſpiracy which preceded it, and the Characters of the principle Actors in it. To this Edition is added, a conciſe Hiſtory of the Reformation in Ireland, and Conſiderations on the Means of extending its Advantages therein. By Sir Richard Muſgrave, Bart. Member in the late Iriſh Parliament. The ſecond Edition 4to. Pp. 636. (the Appendix is 210 pages more.) Stockdale, Cobbett and Morgan; London.

AMONG the deep-charged clouds, which, 'in theſe latter days,' have over-hung the political horizon, none have appeared, with a more direfully portentous aſpect, than rebellion. The evil ſpirits, who, for the purpoſes of Infinite Wiſdom, 'ruled in that whirlwind, and directed the ſtorm,' have ſhewn themſelves fraught with a diſtempered and deſtructive malignancy, far exceeding every former convulſion; and in addition to havoc, moſt horrible, ſo confounded all better diſtinctions, that even patriotiſm is, on the one hand, eſtranged into a domineering ſpirit of *party*; and on the other, is attended, like the rainbow, with a fainter reſemblance of itſelf; which, with inverted order, *mocks* the colours of the true: ſtill the glorious diſtinction is not loſt. We have here a proof before us of its ſurviving, amidſt a wreck of principle, in all its priſtine and determined vigour. In theſe days of ſelfiſh caution and ſpiritleſs *accommodation*, (as Biſhop Hurd, in his Dialogues, has ſo comprehenſively and ſignificantly made that word for it,) the name of Musgrave honours that of *patriot*. He has not only ſtood boldly forward to defend his country, but like another Cæſar *recorded* his own triumph. It is granted, that whatever degree of credit is acknowledged to be due to poſthumous hiſtory, a

living

living hiſtorian can ſcarcely be received as an impartial one; eſpecially if the author be eſteemed to ſtrengthen the uſual objection, with *quorum pars magna fui, quæque ipſe miſerrime vidi.*

For, in ſuch a caſe, generous indignation, mixed with antipathy and diſguſt, preſſing cloſe upon the footſteps of truth, may inſenſibly draw aſide her ſteady eye from the ſtraight path in which it becomes her to tread. At the ſame time much is to be ſaid in favour of the living hiſtorian, if his talents render him equal to the relation he deſigns to give; if his character ſtrengthens the credibility required; and eſpecially if he has perſonally been engaged in the leading facts he records. In this view of it, beſides the moral certainty of not being perplexed with mutilated, or impoſed upon by a miſtated, recital of facts, arranged from materials left after death for the preſs; if ſtyle be of any advantage to a work, aſſuredly the native glow of the intereſted author is much more likely to communicate a correſpondent warmth to the reader, than he can impart, who, in a ceremonious and and cold-drawn manner, only *prepares* a work for publication.

We are aware, that the ingenious author of theſe Memoirs, with all his magnanimity and liberal forbearance, has had the *foreſt* temptations to incline him to mix 'prejudication with the buſineſs' he has here undertaken. By the unmanly acts of envy and calumny, he has been traduced and vilified at the tribunal of public fame. Sir Richard Muſgrave may have a ſoul ſuperior to every uneaſy, much more biaſſing, impreſſion, from ſuch attacks; but it was the opinion of Dr. Goldſmith, (who never talked idly upon ſerious ſubjects,) delivered in the private hearing of the perſon who is now going to repeat it, that *no cenſure is entirely loſt:* and if ſo, how far the feeling of unjuſt cenſure may, or may not, have given a tincture to Sir Richard's Memoirs,' it is our province carefully and impartially to lay before the public.

To form at once a comprehenſive and juſt idea of the approving teſtimony that has already been given by the world to the merit of this work; and to explain the author's motive for having publiſhed it ſo ſoon after the events it includes had taken place, it will be neceſſary to begin with two extracts, the firſt from the Preface, P. 1, the ſecond, from the Appendix, P. 190.

"There cannot," ſays he, "be a ſtronger teſt of public approbation of this work, than that the firſt edition, (which never came under any Reviewer's eye) conſiſting of 1250 copies, was ſold in the ſpace of two months: and after it has had ſo general a circulation, I have received the moſt flattering aſſurances from the officers who *campaigned* in the late rebellion, that the military tranſactions have been accurately deſcribed; and the moſt reſpectable inhabitants of the kingdom, who were competent to decide on the other events, which occurred in their reſpective counties, have given me the moſt unqueſtionable teſtimony that they have been faithfully related." In his Appendix, p. 199, Sir Richard ſays "As the Jacobins of England and Ireland have cenſured the author of this work, for having publiſhed it ſo ſoon after the late rebellion, under a pretence that it would revive thoſe feuds and animoſities from which it originated, I have written the following defence of myſelf

ſelf for having done ſo. That venerable biographer Plutarch, in his Life of Pericles, obſerves, 'that it is difficult to attain truth in hiſtory, ſince, if the writers live any length of time, after the events which they relate, they can be but imperfectly informed of them; and if they deſcribe the perſons and tranſactions of their own times, they are tempted by envy and hatred, or intereſt and friendſhip, to diſguiſe and pervert the truth.' Conſcious that I have not been biaſſed by any ſuch ſiniſter motives, and deſirous of eſtabli..ing the authenticity of the occurrences which I have related, I reſolved to publiſh a narration of them, while the eye-witneſſes of them were ſtill living."

After this fair and manly declaration, which, though full and explicit, is no more than the opening paragraph of Sir Richard Muſgrave's "juſtification" of himſelf, at the end of his work, (and of which a cloſer inſpection will hereafter be requiſite) we go back to his "introductory Diſcourſe." In this he notices, in hiſtorical order, the following changes and events, principally in the eccleſiaſtical affairs of Ireland, preparatory to the work itſelf: prolific ſeeds, from the beginning of thoſe convulſive eruptions which have already ſhaken that country to her centre, and ſtill threaten her internal peace and ſafety. We are preſented with the exact period, when the Chriſtian religion was introduced there, and the Iriſh clergy became ſubject to the juriſdiction of the Roman Pontiff: Sir Richard obſerving by the way, that Ireland was the laſt country in Europe which ſubmitted to the Pope. He next proceeds to ſketch the ſtate of Ireland on the arrival of the Engliſh, in the year 1169, at which period, according to Sir William Petty, the people did not exceed three hundred thouſand ſouls, diſperſed over more than twelve millions of acres. It appears, that notwithſtanding the wiſer part gratefully received the laws of England, yet as early as the reign of Henry III. 1230, the natives at large "collected ſuch force, that they flattered their party with the hope of being able totally to expel the Engliſh:" and "this," adds our author, "has been the declared purpoſe of the native Iriſh for above 600 years, P. 6." He now enters upon an hiſtorical, though a digreſſive detail, of the origin of the papal power, as diſcloſing the real ſource of the various rebellions that have ſucceſſively diſgraced and deſolated the kingdom of Ireland. In this ſummary review, though well connected, and written with ſpirit, there is nothing particularly worthy of remark, till we come to what, in the "gipſey jargon" of modern days, is called *organized* rebellions. A number of theſe are detailed in order from the year 1567, all occaſioned by the interference of the Pope, P. 22. Upon that of 1641, there is this curious remark, that "Mr. Edmund Burke ſeriouſly intended to have written a hiſtory of that rebellion, for no other purpoſe, but to vindicate the Roman Catholicks from the odium which they brought on themſelves by it."

Introductory to the breaking out of the principal rebellion, which forms the chief ſubject of his book, and the enormous and frightful wickedneſs of which is related with a circumſtantial and heart-rending

minuteneſs,

minuteneſs, Sir Richard deſcribes the origin of the different denomination of Inſurgents, in the following order,—origin of the White Boys, including that of Right Boys;—of the Volunteers—of the Defenders,—of the Orangemen,—of the Catholick Committee,—of the United Iriſhmen—of the Civil Organization of the United Iriſhmen, together with the pre-diſpoſing cauſes to [of] rebellion in the north, particularly in the counties of Down and Antrim; and the means which were made uſe of to forward it,—the origin of the Yeomanry oppoſed and calumniated by the Rebels,—the Military Organization,—foreign Negociation of the Conſpirators with the French Republic for aſſiſtance—and laſtly, what Progreſs the Leaders of the Conſpiracy made to the End of the year 1797, in uniting the Preſbyterians and Papiſts. We have only room, in this number, for a few ſtriking extracts from the leading ſection—"The origin of the White Boys;" who began to infeſt the ſouth of Ireland, in the year 1759. A deſcription is given of their tenets and abominable exceſſes, a ſummary of which is thus related:

"They committed dreadful barbarities, on ſuch perſons as heſitated to obey their mandates, or refuſed to join in their confederacy; they cut out their tongues, amputated their noſes or ears; they made them ride many miles in the night on horſeback, naked and bare-backed; they buried them naked, in graves lined with furze, up to their chins.—They reſembled the modern defenders in every reſpect, except in the title they aſſumed; and their object was exactly the ſame, that of ſubverting the conſtitution, and ſeparating Ireland from England, with the aſſiſtance of France.

In the proſecution of this part of his ſubject, our author intermixes ſome remarkable particulars of the late Mr. Burke, not generally known: theſe will be noticed in a future Number. What follows will not be found leſs curious.

"When the enormities committed by the White Boys were about to draw on them the vengeance of the law, and ſome time before Sir Richard Aſton proceeded on his commiſſion to try them, Mr. Edmund Burke ſent his brother Richard, who died Recorder of Briſtol, and Mr. Nagle, a relation, on a miſſion to Munſter, to levy money on the Popiſh body, for the uſe of the White Boys, who were excluſively Papiſts." (This charge Sir Richard qualifies in a note, by ſaying that Mr. Burke might have been actuated by motives of charity and humanity). "At the period from 1792 to 1796, ſome of the lower claſſes of people in Munſter complained loudly of the exactions practiſed on them; and on being aſked for what purpoſes they were? They anſwered, that they had made that enquiry, and were informed, at one time, that it was to obtain for them the elective franchiſe, at another, to procure the privilege of ſitting in Parliament, for perſons of their own perſuaſion. It is well known, that Mr. William Todd Jones, was their warm partizan, while in the Houſe of Commons; and from the intemperate zeal which ſome members of that body ſhewed in promoting their deſigns, it was univerſally believed, that they were actuated by ſiniſter motives. It was ſtrongly ſuſpected, that a perſon in an elevated

vated ſituation in England, from his ſingular pertinacity in adhering to their cauſe, when in open rebellion, had received ſome of their contributions;—and the ſudden, ſucceſsful, and unexpected turn which the Romiſh affairs took in the year 1793, left very little room to doubt, but that ſome extraordinary ſecret influence (not alluding to his Majeſty's Miniſters, whoſe honour and integrity are far above my praiſe) was exerted in England."

We ſtop to obſerve, that this is a very ſerious charge indeed, againſt Mr. William Todd Jones, by name, and is corroborated by the addition of a note, expreſsly aſſerting that "Mr. Jones afterwards accuſed, in the public prints, the Catholic Committee, of not giving him the whole of the money, which they had promiſed to pay him." We are informed, that Mr. T. Jones has taken great pains to remove any diſhonourable imputation, ariſing from the foregoing ſtatement: at the ſame time, from the ſituation and character of the author of theſe Memoirs, who ſolemnly declares, that the "polar ſtar of truth has been his only guide;" we have no apparent cauſe to doubt his veracity. A few pages after, we meet with this bold and unequivocal charge of another nature, affecting the whole body of repreſentatives.

"The conduct of the Parliament of Ireland, from the beginning of his preſent Majeſty's reign, till the end of the year 1793, preſents the reader with an uninterrupted ſeries of blunders in politics. All our diſgraces and misfortunes are found in the hiſtory of our penal laws, and in the feeble execution of them, beginning with the third of Geo. III. cap. xix. for indemnifying all ſuch perſons, as have been, or ſhall be, aiding in the diſperſion of riots, and apprehending the rioters, which was enacted for the ſuppreſſion of the White Boys. As the boldneſs and temerity of theſe Inſurgents continued to increaſe, the 5th of Geo. III. cap. viii. paſſed, and was entitled, An Act to prevent the future tumultuous riſings of perſons within this kingdom. The want of enforcing the ſalutary proviſions of theſe laws, tended to encourage the White Boys in the commiſſion of atrocities, for above twenty years after.—Conceſſion and conciliation holding pace with an increaſe of the enormities committed by thoſe ſavages, a law paſſed ſoon after the 17th and 18th of Geo. III. cap. 49, to enable Roman Catholicks to take leaſes for 999 years, or five lives, at any rent, and by it all lands of which a Roman Catholick was at that time ſeized, were made deſcendible, deviſable, and transferable, as fully as if the ſame were in the ſeiſin of any other perſon. The preamble of this act recites, that, for their uniform peaceable behaviour, for a long ſeries of years, it appears reaſonable and expedient to relax ſeveral of their incapacities and diſabilities. The falſity and inconſiſtency of this aſſertion, will be an eternal ſtain on the Parliament of Ireland. There is not a doubt, but that the Romaniſts had ſome hired agents in that Aſſembly at this period. A ſtrong argument in favour of an Union!"

"Notwithſtanding ſuch liberality (and other extended proofs of it, eſpecially in the year 1782, when almoſt the whole of the reſtrictive laws were repealed) the White Boys ſtill continued to commit nocturnal depredations in different parts of Leinſter and Munſter; but, in the latter, they were ſucceeded by a ſet of Inſurgents called Right Boys, in 1786, who

who reſembled them in every reſpect, except in the title which they aſſumed."

Theſe, therefore, we ſhould have paſſed over in ſilence, as a collateral branch from the ſame corrupt root, had not Sir Richard diſtinguiſhed them himſelf, not only by ſaying,—

"That their efforts, chiefly directed againſt the Proteſtan Clergy, were not the wild and extravagant efforts of raſh and ignorant peaſants, but a dark and deep laid ſcheme, planned by men ſkilled in the law, and the artifices by which it might be evaded. Such men ſuggeſted to the farmers, to enter into a combination, under the ſanction of an oath, not to take their tithes, or to aſſiſt any clergyman in drawing them. The Proteſtant Clergy in the county of Cork were ſo much intimidated, by the menaces and inſults, which they received from them, that many were obliged to fly to the city of Cork for protection. At laſt, Doctor Woodward, Biſhop of Cloyne, ſhocked and alarmed, and ſeeing his clergy driven from their houſes to the city of Cork, whither they went for an aſylum; and that a conſpiracy was formed for the deſtruction of the Proteſtant Church, wrote a very able pamphlet, ſtating the origin and progreſs of the inſurrection in Munſter, hoping thereby to rouze Government to take meaſures for its defence."

Here follows ſuch a character of that learned and amiable prelate, that we cannot refrain from quoting the whole of it, in our author's own words. After having obſerved,—

That "nothing marked ſo ſtrongly the depravity of the times, as the malignant attacks, attended with ſcurrility and abuſe, which were made on this amiable prelate, for this ſeaſonable and ſpirited diſcharge of his paſtoral duty. I had the honour, continues Sir Richard, of being well acquainted with him, and I never knew a perſon more profoundly and elegantly learned, or ſo well verſed, not only in every thing that concerned the eccleſiaſtical department, but in the various duties of every line of ſocial life. Having viſited every part of the Continent, he ſpoke the modern language with great fluency and purity, and had uncommon eaſe, and affability of manner."

"He had the moſt exalted piety; and was not only very charitable himſelf, but an active promoter of public charities. His eloquence in the pulpit was irreſiſtible, as his ſtyle was nervous and elegant: his voice was loud and harmonious; and he had great dignity of manner [deportment]. With all theſe exalted qualities and endowments, he poſſeſſed the moſt brilliant wit, and ſuch a happy vein of humour, as enlivened ſociety wherever he happened to be."

It appears that the careful and animated diſcharge of his duty at this trying criſis, not only expoſed the venerable champion to the malignant abuſe of Popiſh biſhops, prieſts, friars, and preſbyterian miniſters; but ſome members of Parliament arraigned him with much ſeverity.

At the concluſion of this ſection of his work, Sir Richard is naturally led to ſpeak of that ſingular circumſtance of being himſelf obliged, as high ſheriff, of the county of Waterford, to inflict corporal puniſhment on a miſcreant, as no one elſe could be found to do it, even though

though a large ſum of money was offered for that purpoſe. This diſagreeable duty the high ſheriff diſcharged "in the face of an enraged mob." Here it would be in vain to attempt to do juſtice to that firmneſs of mind, that intrepidity of ſpirit, which diſdained every fear, but that of not diſcharging his whole duty to his harraſſed and oppreſſed loyal countrymen.

(*To be continued.*)

A Tour from Downing to Alſton-Moor. By Thomas Pennant, Eſq. 4to. Pp. 195. 1l. 11s. 6d. Weſt and Hughes. London. 1801.

THE Editor gives the following account of this poſthumous work of the well-known touriſt, in his "*Advertiſement.*"

"The tour from Downing to Alſton Moor, now preſented to the public, was performed by Mr. Pennant in 1773. At the concluſion it connects with his Scots Tour, and forms an introductory volume to that excellent work, equally if not more intereſting to the Engliſh reader and to the antiquary. The author, in his Literary Life, p. 18, thus deſcribes the work: "The ſubject of part of this Journey will be found among my Poſthumous Works, illuſtrated with drawings by Moſes Griffith. This will take in the ſpace from Downing to Orford; from thence to Knowſley, Sefton, Ormſkirk, Latham, and (croſſing the country) to Blackburn, Whalley-abbey, Ribcheſter, Mitton, Waddington-hall and Clithero, moſt of them in the county of Lancaſhire. In that of York I viſited Salley-abbey, Bolton-hall, Malham Coves, Settle, Giggleswick and Ingleton. I then croſſed the Lune to Kirby-Lonſdale, and viſited all the parts of Weſtmoreland and Cumberland omitted in my printed Tours of 1769 and 1772; and, finally, I finiſhed this MS. Volume at Alſton, near the borders of Durham."

"Notwithſtanding his former determination, ſee Lit. Life, p. 17, l. 19,) the Editor has the ſatisfaction to find, that Mr. Pennant, in the laſt years of his active life, not only prepared for the preſs the Tour now offered, but alſo its continuation by Hackfall and Fountain's-abbey to Harrogate and Bramham Crags. This work, he hopes, at ſome future period, to have permiſſion to add to the liſt of publications of that valuable author."

With the ſtyle and manner of Mr. Pennant, the objects of his reſearches, and the nature of his deſcriptions, the public have long been familiar. It would be therefore ſuperfluous to offer any remarks on a ſubject on which the opinion of the public has long been ſettled. To all who admire the former writings of this author the preſent work will form an acceptable acquiſition; though, to the general reader, it be calculated to afford a very ſmall portion either of information or amuſement.

It is ſcarcely poſſible to trace the ruins of ancient magnificence, the relics of feudal fabrics, once the ſeats of hoſpitality and the abodes of valour, ſo frequently pourtrayed in theſe pages, without feeling a correſponding gloom and melancholy, not eaſily removed by

a compariſon

a compariſon with the flimſy grandeur, degenerate manners, and ignoble ſpirit, of modern times. The former are calculated to elevate the mind, to inſpire ſentiments of religious awe, and to ſtimulate to deeds of gallant daring; the effects of the latter we forbear to mark; they are ſubjects of humiliation.

The deſcription of *Knowſley*, the ſeat of the Earls of Derby, one of the moſt ancient and moſt honourable families in this realm, is highly intereſting; and one would think it impoſſible that any deſcendant of this ancient houſe could read the hiſtory of its noble atchievements, its ſplendid alliances, its unſhaken loyalty, and its conſtant ſacrifice of intereſt to duty, without feeling the ſparks of true nobility enkindle in his breaſt a fervent deſire to prove himſelf worthy of his anceſtors by a cloſe imitation of their conduct. We ſhall extract ſome part of the account of this family, which forms the moſt intereſting portion of the volume.

"The death of William in 1642 made way for his illuſtrious ſon James, the ſeventh Earl, diſtinguiſhed by his hoſpitality, courage, loyalty, and tragical end. He was ſo eſteemed in his country, that when he was directed, in 1642, to aſſemble his friends in the county of Lancaſter, he had an appearance, on three heaths near Bury, Ormſkirk, and Preſton, of twenty thouſand men on each. At this time it was reſolved to erect the royal ſtandard at Warrington: by a fatal change of councils, however, the place was altered to that of Nottingham, and the opportunity loſt of benefiting by the great intereſt of this family. The Earl was afterwards ſent back to raiſe his dependents: but in the interim the tide of loyalty turned; numbers determined to ſtand neuter, and others embraced the oppoſite party. Still he raiſed three regiments of foot, and three troops of horſe, at his own expence, and delivered them to his Majeſty, to be commanded as he thought proper. He returned to the county, then poſſeſſed by the enemy, took Lancaſter and Preſton by ſtorm, and fortified his houſe at Latham, which afterwards found ſuch long employ, under his brave Counteſs, to the Parliament army. His valour never ſhone ſo bright as at his defeat in Wigan-lane, in his attempt, in 1651, to reſtore the ſon of his murdered Sovereign; for with only 600 horſe he maintained a fight of two hours againſt 3000 troops led on by the determined Lilburne. Misfortune ſeemed to exalt his eloquence, as well as his courage. When he was forced to take refuge in the Iſle of Man, in 1649, with what animated diſdain did he return an anſwer to Ireton's propoſal for the ſurrender! I will again repeat his gallant reply; for, as Mr. Walpole has before remarked, ſuch a model of brave natural eloquence cannot be thought tedious.

'I received your letter with indignation, and with ſcorn I return you this anſwer—That I cannot but wonder whence you ſhould gather any hopes from me, that I ſhould (like you) prove treacherous to my Sovereign; ſince you cannot be inſenſible of my former actings in his late Majeſty's ſervice, from which principle of loyalty I am no way departed.

'I ſcorn your proffers; I diſdain your favours; I abhor your treaſons; and am ſo far from delivering this iſland to your advantage, that I will keep it to the utmoſt of my power to your deſtruction.

'Take this final anſwer, and forbear any further ſolicitations; for, if you trouble

trouble me with any more meſſages upon this occaſion, I will burn the paper and hang the bearer.

'This is the immutable reſolution, and ſhall be the undoubted practice of him who accounts it the chiefeſt glory to be

'His Majeſty's moſt loyal,

"And obedient ſubject,

Caſtle-town, July 12, 1649. 'DERBY.'

"The treatment he met with, after he was taken at the battle of Worceſter, was ſuch as might be expected from a vindictive, ungenerous enemy; with whom his very virtues were ſtrong pleas againſt mercy. He was taken under promiſe of quarter, yet was carried before a court-martial at Cheſter, who not only condemned him to death, regardleſs of the officer's honour to whom he ſurrendered, but had even the barbarity to ſend him to Bolton, a town of his own, in order to be executed; where he fell with the piety of a Chriſtian, and the firmneſs of a ſoldier."

The proud defiance here returned to the inſolent ſummons of a rebel, was truly worthy a Britiſh nobleman. It is a model of manly eloquence, high ſpirit, and unconquerable loyalty, which ought to be emblazoned in letters of gold. This illuſtrious Peer was bleſſed with a Lady who proved herſelf eminently worthy even of *ſuch* a Lord.

"This heroine (Charlotte de la Tremouille) was the daughter of Claude de la Tremouille, duke and peer of France, by his ducheſs, daughter to William prince of Orange, founder of the Dutch Republic.—She proved herſelf worthy of her illuſtrious parents, by a ſeries of gallant actions. Her defence of Latham-houſe, in 1644, from February 28th to May the 27th, may be ranked amongſt the braveſt actions of thoſe unhappy times. She formed her garriſon, appointed her officers, and herſelf commanded in chief during the whole ſiege, till it was raiſed by her loyal Lord, by the defeat of the enemy at Bolton. A bomb fell into the room where ſhe and her children were at dinner, and burſt without doing any injury. She immediately ordered a ſally, beat the foes from their trenches, and took the mortar that was ſo nearly working her deſtruction. In the courſe of the ſiege, ſhe received a ſummons to ſurrender. She caught the ſpirit of her huſband: 'Tell, fellow,' ſays ſhe, 'the inſolent rebel who ſent you, that if he preſumes to ſend another ſummons within theſe walls, I will cauſe the meſſenger to be hanged up at the gates.' This is commemorated by a picture on the ſtaircaſe, repreſenting her Ladyſhip ſitting with the letter in her hand, delivering to a fanatical drummer the gallant anſwer: the laſt is blind-folded and dreſſed in red. An officer of the garriſon, in blue, ſtands by, admiring the heroiſm of his brave miſtreſs. Her Ladyſhip retired afterwards to the Earl in the Iſle of Man, and continued there until after his unfortunate end, when ſhe was betrayed and impriſoned, and reduced to ſuch diſtreſs as to live on the alms of the impoveriſhed royaliſts till the reſtoration, which ſhe ſurvived four years."

The parliament which ſate after the reſtoration treated this noble family moſt unworthily.

"His ſon Charles was ſucceſſor to his title and loyalty. He joined Sir George Booth and other Inſurgents in 1659. On the defeat of that enterpriſe, he

he was taken priſoner, and confined, till the following year gave freedom, but not content, to the long-depreſſed royaliſts. On the Reſtoration, the Lords attempted to do juſtice to thoſe who had been deprived of their fortunes by the uſurping powers. They formed a private bill for the purpoſe of reſtoring this loyal Peer to thoſe eſtates which he had loſt: this was ſtrongly oppoſed, and at length laid aſide, without ever coming to a ſecond reading.* The King was innocent of the rejection, for it never came before him for his aſſent; yet an ill-judged reſentment of the ſon of this noble Earl induced him to cauſe this calumniating inſcription to be placed over one of the doors of Knowſley:

"James earl of Derby, lord of Man and the Iſles, and grandſon of James 'earl of Derby, and of Charlotte daughter of Claude duke de la Tremouille, 'whoſe huſband, James, was beheaded at Bolton, 15th October, 1652, for 'ſtrenuouſly adhering to Charles II. who refuſed a bill paſſed unanimouſly by 'both Houſes of Parliament, for reſtoring to the family the eſtate loſt by the 'family for their loyalty.'

We may allow the family to be a little out of humour with its misfortunes; for William earl of Derby uſed to ſay, that he never paſſed by any eſtate of his in Yorkſhire, Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, Warwickſhire, Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, or Wales, but he ſaw a greater near it loſt by the fidelity of his anceſtor to the royal cauſe."

In P. 46. Mr. Pennant corrects a miſtake of Mr. Walpole's (Lord Orford's) reſpecting the perſon of Mr. Winſtanly who was employed by one of the Earls of Derby to collect the valuable aſſemblage of pictures at Knowſley.

"Almoſt the whole of this valuable collection was formed by James earl of Derby, who ſent Mr. Winſtanly abroad for that purpoſe. In the years 1728 and 1729, this celebrated painter etched twenty of the fineſt of theſe pictures.

"I here take the liberty of correcting a miſtake of Mr. Walpole, who was miſled, by the ſimilitude of name, to confound Winſtanly the engineer, who built the Eddyſtone light-houſe, with this perſon. The painter was a native of Warrington, ſecond ſon of William Winſtanly; was brought up a painter, and patroniſed by James earl of Derby. He was buried in the church-yard at Warrington, dying, as his epitaph informs us, on the 20th of May 1756, aged ſixty."

Two or three curious anecdotes are related reſpecting the proprietors of *Latham Houſe*, in Lancaſhire, formerly the property of the Stanleys, and the place immortalized by the memorable defence of CLAUDE, COUNTESS of DERBY, but ſince obtained, by purchaſe, by the family of the BOOTLES.

"I have more than once heard a relation, which, if well founded, is a wonderful inſtance of the retribution of Providence, the inſtability of all human tenure, and the ſtrange changes of fortune in families, which ought to inſtil a moſt humiliating leſſon into the Great. Previous to the ſiege of

* "See Tour in Wales, 95. Drake's Parliam. Hiſt. xxiii. 50, 53."

Latham, one Bootle (ſaid to have been anceſtor to Sir Thomas) was porter to the Noble owner. He is ſaid to have taken a voluntary oath of loyalty, but afterwards ſided with the Parliament. At the ſtorming of Bolton, he had a Captain's command in the town; when ſurrounded by the royaliſts, and ſeeing his old maſter near him, he applied to his Lordſhip for quarter: the fellow periſhed in the rage of the aſſault. His deſcendants poſſeſs the moſt ancient property of the Peer, to whom he had ſued in vain.

"Another ſingular anecdote is preſerved, ſerving to ſhew the pride of high lineage, and the vanity of low. The late Earl of Derby had on ſale a place near Liverpool called Bootle, which Sir Thomas was particularly deſirous of, through the ambition of being thought to have been derived from ſome antient ſtock. The Earl refuſed to part with it to this new man, who with proper ſpirit ſent his Lordſhip word, (Latham being then to be ſold,) that if he would not let him be Bootle of Bootle, he was reſolved to be Bootle of Latham."

"Before I quit Latham I muſt not forget the romance of Oſkytel, the perſon to whom the Stanleys owe the cognizance of the Eagle and Child. A certain Sir Thomas de Latham, in a century uncertain, found himſelf, in a very advanced age, childleſs, and in poſſeſſion of an antiquated lady. In hopes of poſterity, he entered on an intrigue with a fair vaſſal in the neighbourhood, who, in conſequence, bore to him a ſon. It was the wiſh of Sir Thomas to adopt the child, and to introduce him into the family. In order to do it unſuſpected by the lady, he cauſed it to be placed well ſwaddled in an eagle's neſt in Terſton-wood, immediately before he had artfully drawn his wife on a walk that way. The cries of the infant were ſoon heard: it was relieved from its ſituation, pitied by the lady, who conſidered it as a heaven-ſent gift in compaſſion to her ſterility, took it home, and, ignorant of the deceit, educated it with all the fondneſs of a natural mother."

The continuation of this tour, promiſed by the Editor, will complete the valuable collection of Mr. Pennant's works.

Sané's *Hiſtorical and Topographical View of Nations.*

(*Continued from the Appendix to* VOL. IX. P. 507.)

PARIS has always been the abode of faſhion, it is the only tyranny to which a Frenchman ſubmits without murmuring; nothing appears more odious to him than uniformity; in conſequence of which, his changes are ſo frequent, that it is impoſſible to deſcribe his dreſs. He ſurpaſſes all his neighbours in this kind of invention; and the manufactures of his country are indebted to him for a portion of their activity. The ſame taſte is ſtill prevalent; but the means of indulging it are exhauſted by foreign cauſes. The neceſſity of conforming to penurious circumſtances, the violence occaſioned by the preſent mode of thinking to the moſt agreeable habits, and the triumph, (I will not ſay of ſimplicity but) of ſlovenlineſs over all that elegance and refined taſte were wont to preſent to the eye, have induced him to diveſt himſelf of the decorations of wealth and luxury.

In

In the midſt of outward appearances, miſery is often viſible, notwithſtanding the fruitleſs efforts of a ſhabby genteel dreſs; ſuch is the influence of faſhion! Economy ſeems to have become a virtue among Frenchmen, formerly diſtinguiſhed for their prodigality; the ſame coat re-appears under different forms, ſometimes ſquare, ſometimes ſtraight; wigs cover the heads of young perſons; powder is abandoned to thoſe whom age has already whitened; and very ſoon, we ſhall ſeek in vain throughout Paris for a young beauty, who can preſent her lover with a ſingle lock of her hair. After a thouſand different faſhions, the women ſeem to have adopted the Greek and Roman dreſſes, wnich are noble, and perfectly ſuited to beauty. The young men, and even grown perſons, ſacrifice their hair to the faſhion; the common people, always faithful to their ancient *coſtume*, laugh under their large hats, at thoſe new faſhions, which daily flouriſh and diſappear in the midſt of our cities.

"All religions have annexed to their dogmas and ceremonies, a veneration for the dead: but this has vaniſhed from France, and no inſtitution has ſupplied its place. When a perſon is dead, it is now the practice, to announce it to the municipality, which, within twenty-four hours, ſends a public officer and four porters to remove the body, which is carried in ſilence to the burying place. When they have reached the ſpot allotted for the interment, the officer cries aloud to the grave digger, "in the name of the law you are commanded to inter this corpſe." With ſuch ſhameful indecency, the remains of the virtuous are committed to the earth! Nevertheleſs, the Roman Catholics, by paying a certain ſum, are allowed the privilege of carrying the corpſe to the church, and of performing the uſual religious funeral rites. Every one has a right to inter the remains of a father or wife, a brother or friend in his own eſtate.

"The decade days are the only holidays recognized by public authority; but their obſervance is obligatory only on the conſtituted authorities, the public functionaries, and thoſe in the pay of government: the reſt of the citizens have the liberty of looking after their affairs, and providing for their wants every day, of keeping holyday when they pleaſe, according to the nature and object of their profeſſions; and the day of reſt which they adopt, is the Sunday both of Catholics and Proteſtants."

The account which our author has given of the ancient and modern literary foundations in France is a melancholy proof of the ravages which have been made in that unhappy country by the influence of a vain and pernicious philoſophy.

"The univerſities and colleges had loſt much of their ſplendour and utility by the expulſion of the Jeſuits, who made languages, arts and ſciences, their chief ſtudy, and diffuſed the knowledge of them over every part of France. There were alſo many literary eſtabliſhments, ſuch as the academies. At preſent, all theſe nurſeries of ſcience, whence came all the men who had illuſtrated France, and in whom France ſtill glories, have been partly demoliſhed. The univerſities, of which from its antiquity, its wealth, and the renown of its ſcholars that of Paris was the parent, have been deſtroyed, and ſupplanted by primary and central ſchools; the various academies, by a

national inſtitute and lycea, the productions of which ſtill diſplay the novelty of their origin. There is one prytaneum for the whole republic divided into ſeveral colleges. The gratuitous places in this eſtabliſhment are given excluſively to the hapleſs children of thoſe ſoldiers who have periſhed on the field of battle, and of public officers who have died while in the exerciſe of their functions."

At this time, it may be of uſe to our readers, to be made acquainted with the nature of the newly inſtituted bank of Paris.

"The government has lately eſtabliſhed a bank, called the "Bank of France," which diſcounts bills of exchange, and bills of acceptance, indorſed with the ſignatures of three French citizens and foreign merchants, whoſe credit is notorious and well eſtabliſhed. It engages as well for individuals, as for public eſtabliſhments and government, to recover the amount of the effects depoſited with it, and to make advances on the recoveries of thoſe effects, when they are certain. It receives in current account, all depoſits and aſſignments, as well as ſums in coin and effects depoſited with it by individuals or public eſtabliſhments; and pays for them *mandats*, or drafts, which are drawn on the bank, or ſecurities which it has taken on houſes to the amount of the ſums advanced. The bank carries on no kind of commerce excepting in matters of gold and ſilver.

"Since the revolution in 1789, France has changed its form of government ſeveral times. In 1791, the conſtituent aſſembly decreed a conſtitution as defective in its principles as incapable of practice. Shortly after, royalty was aboliſhed, and France declared itſelf a republic on the 22d September, 1792. Since that epoch, it has received ſucceſſively two conſtitutions; the firſt of 1793 was but ephemeral, the ſecond, called the conſtitution, of 1795 or of the third year, laſted five years. Although it was preferable to the two former, it ſtill wanted that degree of perfection which the ſocial contract requires, and it was beſides too complex in its movements to exiſt for any time. The 18th Brumaire, in the 8th year, happily arrived; and Bonaparte, author of that memorable event, after having completely overthrown the weak conſtitution of the 3d yeat, ſubſtituted in its place another more conducive to the public welfare, which appeared on the 22d Frimaire, and was immediately accepted by a great majority of the French people. We ſhall detail its principal diſpoſitions.

"The French republic is one and indiviſible. Its European territory is portioned into departments and communal diſtricts. Every man born and reſident in France, who has attained to 21 years of age, and who has inſcribed his name on the civic regiſter of his communal diſtrict, and who has reſided for a year in the territory of the republic, is a French citizen. To exerciſe the rights of a citizen in a communal diſtrict, it is neceſſary to have been a reſident houſekeeper for a year, and not to have loſt this right by being abſent for that term. The citizens of the communal diſtrict determine by their votes, who among their fellow citizens are moſt proper to manage public affairs. A liſt is formed containing a number of names equal to the tenth of the number of citizens who have the right of co-operating in the election. From this primary communal liſt the public functionaries of the diſtrict are

choſen,

choſen. The citizens included in the communal liſts of a department, chooſe, in like manner, a tenth part from among themſelves. From this is formed a ſecond liſt called the departmental liſt, from which the public functionaries of the department are taken. The citizens of the departmental liſt chooſe in like manner, a tenth from among themſelves, from which is formed a third liſt, which comprizes the citizens of the department eligible to national public functions.

" The conſervative ſenate is compoſed of 80 members, at leaſt 40 years of age, who are immoveable, and hold their places for life. The nomination to the place of ſenator is done by the ſenate, which chooſes from among three candidates preſented to it, the firſt by the legiſlative body, the ſecond by the tribunate, and the third by the firſt Conſul. It only decides between two if one of the candidates be propoſed by two out of the three authorities entitled to preſent them; it is bound to admit any one who may be propoſed at the ſame time by the three authorities. The firſt Conſul, on going out of office, either by the ceſſation of his functions, or by reſignation, becomes by right a ſenator. The other two Conſuls, during the month after the expiration of their functions, may take a ſeat in the ſenate, but they are not obliged to exerciſe this right. A ſenator is for ever diſqualified for every other public function. All the departmental liſts are addreſſed to the ſenate; they compoſe the national liſt. From this liſt it elects the legiſlators, the tribunes, the conſuls, the judges of reviſion, (caſſation) and the commiſſioners of accounts. It maintains or annuls all the acts which are referred to it as unconſtitutional, by the tribunate or by the government. The liſts of the qualified are compriſed in theſe acts.

" No new laws are promulgated, until the project has been propoſed by government, communicated to the tribunate, and decreed by the legiſlative body. The plans which the government propoſes, are digeſted into articles. In any ſtate of the diſcuſſion of theſe articles, the government may withdraw and revive them again under modifications. The tribunate is compoſed of 100 members, not leſs than 25 years of age; they are renewed annually by a fifth of their number indefinitively re-eligible as long as they remain on the national liſt. The tribunate diſcuſſes the plans of the laws, and votes their adoption or rejection. It ſends three orators from its own body, by whom the motives of its wiſh on every project is expoſed and defended before the legiſlative body. It refers to the ſenate, on the ground only of being unconſtitutional, the liſts of the qualified, the acts of the legiſlative body, and thoſe of government. It expreſſes its wiſh on the laws that are made, and on thoſe which are about to be made, on the abuſes that require correction, on the improvements neceſſary in every part of the public adminiſtration, but never on the civil or criminal matters which are before the tribunals of juſtice. When the tribunate adjourns, it may nominate a commiſſion from 10 to 15 of its members, authorized to aſſemble it, if they judge it neceſſary. The legiſlative body is compoſed of 300 members, at leaſt 30 years of age, one fifth of whom are annually renewed. A member who goes out of the legiſlative body cannot again become a member of it, during the interval of a year; but he may be inſtantly elected to any other public function, not excepting that of a tribune, if he be in other reſpects qualified. The ſeſſion of the legiſlative body begins every year on the 1ſt Frimaire, and laſts only four months; during the reſt of the year, it may be called together by the government on extraordinary occaſions. The legiſlative bo-

dy enacts a law by a ſecret ſcrutiny, and without any diſcuſſion between its members on the projects of the law debated before it by the orators of the tribunate and of the government.

" The government is entruſted to three Conſuls, appointed for ten years, and indefinitely re-eligible. The firſt Conſul has particular functions and attributes, in which, when neceſſary, his place is ſupplied by one of his colleagues. The firſt Conſul proclaims the laws; he appoints and diſmiſſes at his pleaſure, the members of the Council of State, the Miniſters, Ambaſſadors, and other important foreign agents, officers of the army and navy, the members of local adminiſtrations, and the commiſſioners of government, attending on the tribunals. He appoints all criminal and civil judges, beſides juſtices of the peace, and judges of reviſion (caſſation) without power of revocation. In the other acts of government, the ſecond and third Conſuls have deliberative votes; they ſign the regiſter of thoſe acts as teſtimony of their being preſent, after which the determination of the firſt Conſul ſuffices. The government propoſes the laws and eſtabliſhes the regulations requiſite for their execution: it directs the receipts and expenditure of the State, conformably to the annual law which aſcertains the amount of both; it has the ſuperintendance over the coin, the circulation of which the law alone ordains, and fixes the name, weight, and form: it provides for the internal ſafety and external defence of the State; it has the diſpoſal of the army and navy. The national guard, while in actual ſervice, is under the rules of public adminiſtration; when not in actual ſervice, it is ſubject only to the law. The government carries on all foreign relations, conducts negociations, makes preliminary ſtipulations, ſigns, or authorizes the ſignature of, and concludes all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, neutrality, commerce, and other conventions. By the direction of the Conſuls, the Council of State is charged to direct the plans of laws and regulations of the public adminiſtration, and to reſolve any difficulties that may ariſe in matters of adminiſtration. From the members of this Council are always ſelected thoſe orators who are to harangue in the name of the Government before the legiſlative body. There are never more than three orators ſent to defend the ſame plan of a law. The miniſters ſee to the execution of the laws, and the regulations reſpecting the public adminiſtration. An act of Government cannot have any effect, unleſs it is ſigned by a miniſter. The Government can neither elect nor retain as Counſellors of State, or miniſters, any other citizens than thoſe whoſe names are inſcribed on the national liſt.

" Every communal diſtrict has one or ſeveral juſtices of the peace, directly elected by the citizens for three years. Their chief duty conſiſts in reconciling litigant parties, whom they invite, in caſe of their not being reconciled, to ſubmit their cauſes to arbitration. In civil matters, there are primary tribunals and tribunals of appeal. The law fixes the organization of both, their competence, and the diſtrict wherein each is ſtationed. In criminal matters, attended by infamous or painful puniſhments, a primary jury finds or rejects the accuſation; if it be admitted, a ſecond jury decide on the fact, and the judges who conſtitute the criminal tribunal apply the penalty. Their judgment is without appeal. Thoſe crimes which are not followed by painful or infamous puniſhments, are tried by tribunals of corrective police, with the reſervation of an appeal to the criminal courts. There is for the whole Republic, one tribunal of reviſion (caſſation) which

decides

decides on appeals againſt the deciſions of the tribunals, on the caſes tranſmitted from one tribunal to another, on account of legal ſuſpicion, or for the public ſafety. The tribunal of reviſion (caſſation) does not take cognizance of the merits of a caſe, but it annuls thoſe deciſions in which the forms of law have not been obſerved, or which contain ſome expreſs oppoſition to the law; and it ſends the matter in litigation to the tribunal which has the cognizance of it. The judges, as well as the juſtices of the peace, retain their ſituations for life, unleſs they be condemned for any crime, or be diſcontinued from the liſt of the qualified.

"A Commiſſion of National Account regulates and verifies the accounts of the revenues and expences of the Republic. This Commiſſion is compoſed of ſeven members, who are choſen by the Senate out of the national liſt.

"Each department is adminiſtered by a Prefect, who has ſub-prefects under him. Every Prefect has a prefectoral council compoſed of five members, and another compoſed of twenty-four members, for the diſtribution of the taxes in each communal diſtrict. A mayor and aſſeſſors are at the head of each communal adminiſtration. In each of the four following towns, Paris, Lyons, Marſeilles, and Bordeaux, there is a Prefect of Police, whoſe office is to preſerve peace and good order."

Such is the general outline of the preſent intricate and motley conſtitution of France. We now proceed to M. Sané's deſcription of the military.

"The military force of France may be eſtimated at 5 or 600,000 men. The French are now conſidered as the beſt troops in Europe. Their tactics their courage, their impetuoſity, have rendered them victorious with forces four times leſs than thoſe of their enemies. With 15,000 men, they have beaten a formidable army of 80,000 Neapolitans, who attacked them unawares. The mode in which the French ſoldiers fight, is peculiar to the character and impetuoſity of their countrymen. The fire-arms are no ſooner diſcharged than they ruſh upon the enemy, come to cloſe quarters, rout them, and obtain the victory. There are no more tented encampments; ſome branches of trees are interwoven, under which they ſleep and repoſe themſelves. To view the troops riſe at the ſlighteſt noiſe, one would be induced to believe that they keep guard while aſleep. The ſoldiers of other countries are ſerious and phlegmatic; the Frenchman only marches and and fights ſinging; he ſings out of all time, but ſtill he ſings, and on occaſions too, where others murmur, weep, ſigh, and deſpair.

"Much is required to be done before the navy of the Republic can arrive to ſo flouriſhing an eſtabliſhment. It appears from a meſſage of the Directory, that in 1796 France had only 43 ſhips of the line and frigates, beſides 150 corvettes and light veſſels, and at moſt 100 merchantmen. But ſince that period her navy has received ſeveral blows from the Engliſh, and the laſt fleet of conſequence which ſhe put to ſea *ſuffered conſiderably*,* in the terrible battle of Aboukir, in 1798. France is nevertheleſs capable of becoming a maritime power of the firſt rank.

"By the preſent conſtitution, the legiſlative body may raiſe what kind of taxes it may think proper, and the revenues of France are drawn from different contributions called *territorial*, *moveable*, and *perſonal*, by a tax on timber and the regiſtry of the cuſtoms, a tax on the patents, which every merchant or tradeſman is obliged to take out. The lottery alſo has lately been

* Only *two* eſcaped. *Rev.*

reſtored; tolls for keeping the roads in good order, des octrois de bienfaiſance, on all ſorts of commodities, a tax on windows and doors, carriages, whiſkies, and tobacco. The national domains alſo conſtitute a conſiderable branch of the public revenue.

"One of the moſt beautiful ſyſtems which has appeared in France, and which reflects honour on the men of talents entruſted with its execution, is the uniformity of weights and meaſures. This laborious commiſſion takes, as the baſis of the new ſyſtem, the fourth part of a circumference, from one of the two poles north and ſouth, where all the meridians meet, to the equator, which is the circle ſituated at a ſemi-diſtance between either pole. We call this circumference, *Meridian*, whoſe fourth part in length is the unity of the meaſure which has ſerved as the baſis whereby to diſcover every other meaſure, by dividing and ſubdividing it into tens, to the point where the fourth of the meridian is ſubdivided into ten millions of parts. To this ten millionth part we have given the name of *Métre*, which ſignifies a meaſure. The *Métre* is, therefore, the univerſal ſtandard of the meaſure of unity, ſince all the others are combinations or fractions of it. The other meaſures are, the litre,* for liquids, the ſtére for ſolids,† the gramme‡ for weights, and the are§ for ſuperficies.

"In reſpect to monies, the *franc* is the principal unity; it is the ſame as the *livre* of 20 ſous (10d. Engliſh.) The *décime*, which is the 10th part of the franc, is equal to two ſous. The *centime* is the tenth part of the *décime*, or the hundredth part of the *franc*. The gold coin in circulation is a piece of gold of 24 francs, otherwiſe called a *Louis*. The ſilver coins are pieces of ſix francs, five francs, one franc 15 decimes, or 30 ſous, and 75 centimes or 15 ſous. Their impreſſion is, on one ſide, a figure of liberty, and, on the other, a crown of laurel, in the middle of which is marked the value of the piece."

We have now preſented our readers with ſufficient evidence of the care and attention with which M. Sané has compiled the preſent work. It will be found to be a very uſeful compendium; and though not ſo large as our Guthrie's Geography, yet it is in every reſpect as inſtructive and entertaining, and certainly more portable.

A Sermon preached at Northampton, June 11, 1801, *at the Triennial Viſitation of the Right Reverend Father in God, Spencer, Lord Biſhop of the Dioceſe of Peterborough.* By Thomas Sikes, M. A. Vicar of Guilſborough, 4to. Pp. 17. Rivington. London.

THE text is, Acts, xx. 29, 30. This able and intelligent Divine, juſtly conſiders *infidelity* and *enthuſiaſm* as the two greateſt enemies

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* It is uſed inſtead of the pint, and is nearly equal to a pint and one-twentieth part. *Rev.*

† It takes place of the former *voie*, of which it is nearly one half. *Rev.*

‡ Nearly equal to 19 grains. *Rev.*

§ It ſuperſedes the ſquare perch, and is nearly equal to two ſquare perches, of 22 feet each ſide; each of theſe perches contains 0,5104 decimal parts of the *are*. *Rev.*

mies of the Church of Chriſt. He confines his remarks to the latter, and principally as among ſome of the Clergy.

" To ſuch an enemy (enthuſiaſm) the Church is at this time much expoſed. From her own family, men have ariſen, ſpeaking perverſe things, to draw away diſciples. Thoſe in whom ſhe truſted, who have eaten of her bread, have lift up their heel againſt her! and, in her diſtreſs, ſhe exclaims with the Pſalmiſt: ' It is not an open enemy that hath done me this diſhonour, for then I could have borne it; neither was it mine adverſary that did magnify himſelf againſt me; for then, peradventure, I ſhould have hid myſelf from him. But it was thou, my companion and mine own familiar friend.' Pſ. lv. p. 4.

The peculiar evils of the preſent times he conſiders to be *a ſpirit of independence* and *ſelf-ſufficiency*. The *means* uſed to undermine the government and diſcipline of the Chriſtian Church, he enumerates as follows: 1. " That the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt is not preached in the Eſtabliſhed Church. 2. That all are at libetty to make choice of that teacher and that place of worſhip they ſhall think beſt; and 3. That the plea of better edification juſtifies their ſeparation from their pariſh Church and regular Miniſter." P. 5. Juſt and pointed remarks are made on all theſe pleas for non-conformity and ſources of confuſion.

The claſs of men, here alluded to, are repreſented " as ſeeking an occaſion of railing, of referring their hearers to their own conſcience, to their own private feelings alone; and thus, by one ſtep, they evade all authority, both human and divine." P. 6.

" I call upon theſe ſons of confuſion," ſays this animated writer, " impartially to conſider their inſincerity and preſumption, in pretending fidelity to the Church, whilſt they live in open defiance of her laws, and ſet up their own fanciful opinions in oppoſition to her holy doctrine." p. 11.

The moſt effectual means (p. 16.) of checking theſe evils, demand a cloſer inveſtigation, and a more copious diſcuſſion, than the narrow limits of a ſermon will allow. One of the means, however, preſcribed by the Preacher, ſufficiently demonſtrates the correctneſs of his notions on the ſubject, and is entitled to particular attention.

" Were I to preſume to offer my thoughts upon the moſt effectual means of checking the evil of theſe pernicious doctrines, I ſhould ſuggeſt the abſolute neceſſity of oppoſing this ſpirit of pride and confuſion, by very frequently and ſtrongly enforcing the indiſpenſible duty of ſubmiſſion to that authority with which Chriſt has inveſted his Church: by clearly explaining the nature and conſtitution of the Church, as it is a ſociety diſtinct from all others in the world, and endued with powers which no earthly authority can either grant or take away. Let us continually remind our people, ' that he who deſpiſeth the Miniſters of the Church deſpiſeth him who ſent them.' That he who neglects to hear the Church, is, by our Lord's expreſs direction, to be conſidered as an heathen and publican; that is, *as a notorious ſinner, and not within the covenant of ſalvation.*

" And let not thoſe who watch by the altar, ſlumber at their ſacred poſt, whilſt our Nadabs and Abihus load it with unhallowed fire. Let not Korah and his company delude the people with the pretence of holineſs, into

rebellion

rebellion againſt all that is holy: 'Behold, to obey is better than to ſacrifice, and to hearken, than the fat of rams; for rebellion is as the ſin of witchcraft, and ſtubbornneſs is as iniquity and idolatry." 1 Sam. xv. 22. But let the upright Miniſter of Chriſt, conſtant in his ſacred ſtation, faithfully teach obedience to his flock, and become himſelf a pattern of duty."

One remark is ſo obvious, that it could not have eſcaped this intelligent obſerver of the preſent ſtate of the Church, and yet it is ſo important that it ought not to be omitted. That the peculiar tenets of Calviniſm, or rather the hereſy of Calvin, is the grand engine to ſupport the cauſe of enthuſiaſm and diſcord among ſome of the Clergy: this perverts the mind, blinds the judgment, and hardens the heart; this inſpires a bold preſumption and a careleſs inſenſibility; this ſubſtitutes falſehood for truth, and confuſion for order.

Travels in Portugal and through France and Spain, with a Diſſertation on the Literature of Portugal, and the Spaniſh and Portugueſe Languages. By Henry Frederick Link, Profeſſor at the Univerſity of Roſtock, and Member of Various Learned Societies. Tranſlated from the German by John Hinckley, Eſq. With Notes by the Tranſlator. Pp. 504. 8vo. Longman and Rees.

THE object of theſe travels in Portugal was for the purpoſe of enlarging the range of ſcience, particularly in the departments of *Botany* and *Mineralogy*; and to collect materials for a Fauna and Flora Luſitanicæ, which we are informed in the preface, are in a ſtate of forwardneſs for publication. For theſe uſeful additions to our ſtock of natural hiſtory, we are indebted to the Count of Hoffmannſegg, who is not only a great proficient in that ſcience, but its active and zealous patron. He ſelected Profeſſor Link to accompany him in his travels in Portugal, and the preſent publication clearly evinces his judgment and diſcrimination; for our author has not only diſplayed a great knowledge of botany and mineralogy, but no ſmall ſhare of acquaintance with the ſcience of public economy. The Count and the Profeſſor purſued their reſearches together from the end of the ſummer of 1797 till 1799, when the affairs of the latter obliged him to return to Hamburgh. The Count, however, was left in Portugal, "where, with indefatigable aſſiduity, he is inveſtigating the natural hiſtory of that country."

During their reſidence in Portugal, they had no idea of publiſhing an account of their travels, their chief attention having been directed to the inveſtigation of the works of nature, eſpecially the botanical riches of that country.

"But, on my return," ſays our author, "I read all the accounts I could procure of travels in Portugal, and found that no one had ſeen ſo much of that country as ourſelves. I alſo perceived that moſt of the authors of theſe works were groſsly ignorant of the language, and gave

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many falſe accounts, or ſuch as were only applicable to the inhabitants of the metropolis, but which they erroneouſly extended to the whole kingdom. In ſhort, I read of nothing but complaints againſt the lazy, bigotted, and thieviſh Portugueſe, and ſaw, with grief, that no one had deſcribed the delightful vales through which the Minho flows, the cultivation of which vies with that of England, herſelf; that no one had beſtowed due praiſe on the tolerant ſpirit of the common people, of which I had many pleaſing proofs; that no one had proclaimed the ſecurity enjoyed in a country where, in my botanical excurſions, I laid myſelf down by the road ſide in unknown ſpots, and, exhauſted by the heat of the day, ſlept without care or apprehenſion. Thus I ſeized the pen to defend my friends the Portugueſe, determining impartially to pourtray their character, their mode of life, and their agriculture, with which laſt my occupations rendered me intimately acquainted; till thus a mere apology grew into a book of travels."

Such were the motives which induced the Profeſſor to publiſh the volume before us, and they are unqueſtionably laudable and important. The kingdom of Portugal has been conſtantly paſſed over by the curious traveller as containing few objects worthy of philoſophical inveſtigation or detail. Its people have been harſhly repreſented as embruted by a degrading ſuperſtition, and by a ſtill more degrading political ſervitude; it has been denied the merit of poſſeſſing either virtues or talents, and conſequently has been painted as a portion of Europe, which is altogether deſtitute of any attractions for the hiſtorian, the moraliſt, or the philoſopher. Our author has combated theſe opinions with great ability, and has fully demonſtrated in the performance before us, that it is a country rich in mineral and vegetable productions, that the aſpect of ſociety is neither deformed nor odious, and that under a wiſe adminiſtration, the ſoil, the produce, the manners, the literature, and the laws of Portugal, are capable of attaining a very high degree of improvement. This book is admirably adapted to the uſe of thoſe who delight in the charming purſuits of natural hiſtory, and therefore we cannot too ſtrongly recommend it to the *botaniſt* and the *mineralogiſt*. It abounds alſo in anecdotes, ſo various, as to intereſt the feelings of every one who is fond of that important portion of reading, which deſcribes the habits and inſtitutions of men. The details of natural ſcience, are preceded by ſome judicious obſervations on thoſe parts of France and Spain, through which our Profeſſor travelled on his way to Portugal; it is throughout interſperſed with ſtatiſtical accounts of that kingdom, with inſtructive remarks on its fundamental policy, literature, language, trade, and population; and, on the whole, the reader is, perhaps, preſented with a more accurate picture of the general ſtate of that country, than is to be found in any book of travels hitherto publiſhed.

Having preſented our readers with a general view of the ſubject matters of this work, we ſhall ſelect ſuch paſſages as will give them a more ſatisfactory idea of the manner in which they are treated by the

the author, beginning firſt with his remarks on the ſtate of France, a conſiderable part of which he traverſed on his route to Portugal.

" All perſons of faſhion were inimical to the republican regulation and the intereſts of the Republic. Young ladies of faſhion were partial to the Engliſh. The appellation of *citoyen*, though required in all official tranſactions, was never uſed in company; and the word *citoyenne* was a groſs affront. There was ſtill a gradation of ranks, only the catalogue did not begin with princes of the blood; and on Sunday's the promenades and theatres were void of well-dreſſed people, becauſe on that day every artizan could reſort there." p. 14.

" Amid the high degree of luxury to which the French nation are more ſtrongly inclined than any other nation, and in which they ſtill excel them (however ſmall the means they poſſeſs of indulging it), and the want of all fixed moral principles, the government muſt vibrate between the extravagance and venality of the principal men in the ſtate, and terroriſm. Where both would end if France were left to herſelf can ſcarcely be conjectured. There is a conteſt of opinions in that country, which is carried on, not by means of principles, but by force, as in a battle; and the contending armies reſemble ſoldiers headed by their generals: the reſult cannot with any probability be foreſeen. In that country, accident may do every thing; and it depends on an inſcrutable fatality, where the rolling rocks will ſtop. The ſecret propenſity of the human heart, when we are unhappy ourſelves not to wiſh others happy, is, perhaps, the cauſe of the eagerneſs with which the French ſeek to revolutionize other countries. How often have I not been aſked, when we ſhould begin to drive out our princes? But I always replied, ' as ſoon as Robeſpierre ſhall be forgotten.' Several moral men endeavoured, by means of theophilanthropy, which ſprung up juſt at this time, to reſtore France to morality and religion. La Reveillère, the beſt and the weakeſt of the directors, principally contributed to its repute; but the effects of it were not yet apparent. As long as it was new, beautiful hymns were ſung; and as long as the orators ſaid pretty things, their temples were crowded. They even began to be deſirous of making proſelytes, of which I could name an inſtance. In this reſpect all religions are alike; nor is it poſſible to foretel what theophilanthropy may one day become. But, according to the general levity of the French, it was at firſt ſpoken of as charming, then ridiculous; and at length a bore, till thus it was ſoon exploded. La Reveillère's fall we may hope will bury this religion in oblivion.* p. 16, 18.

" We had hitherto travelled through countries which had a very bad name, owing to the great number of robberies committed there, particularly the Sand-ſtone Mountain, beyond Brives, the caſtle of Noailles, and the deſert mountains of Uzerches. Robberies were at that time the order of the day; the principal objects of plunder being the paper and money of the government, though purſes and watches were not neglected. The manner of robbing was Engliſh, travellers being ſeldom intentionally murdered. The cauſe of this may eaſily be aſſigned: a number of young men had returned from the armies, many of whom were the ſons of perſons

* Our author's wiſh has been fulfilled. *Rev.*

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above the common people, and who were now deſtitute of all means of ſubſiſtence. Theſe young men, having been forced into the army againſt their will, were full of hatred to the government, of whom they endeavoured to be revenged. Such men, like the better claſs of Engliſh highwaymen, ſeldom murder; and, beſides, in all French accounts of robberies, we muſt expect ſome exaggeration. According to all we could learn, however, there was leſs danger in theſe parts, even in the worſt of times, than uſually prevails in many parts of Germany, in which no one now thinks of robbery and murder. The ſpeeches in the Council of Five Hundred itſelf contributed to theſe exaggerations, moſt of the members being, at leaſt at that time, very bad orators, and in the ſpeeches which they read continually, catching at florid deſcriptions, and elevated fragments of eloquence. Thus Villiers ſpoke of a journey through France as of a military enterprize. In general, they ſought the models of their ſpeeches in the Britiſh Parliament, as they had borrowed the plan of furniſhing their houſes from that iſland. With theſe exaggerations concurred a timidity of a peculiar kind, in which this nation exceeds all others, and the cauſe of which is, that they fear more from various misfortunes than the Germans. Very refined nations are only truly brave during ſome exaltation of the public mind, and then they are extraordinarily courageous. To them it is a ſublime elevation to deſpiſe life, while to thoſe who are habitually brave it is a trifle. The roads in this country are extremely fine, although in general throughout France they cannot be called bad; nor are they anywhere inferior to thoſe of England, which in ſome parts, perhaps, excell them. In the weſt of England are very bad poſt-roads.* In France, the ſtate of the poſt itſelf, that is of travelling, is extremely good; in no reſpect worſe, but rather better, than in England, if we except the excellent eſtabliſhment of mail-coaches, to which there is nothing ſimilar in France. There, indeed, the poſt does not travel on horſeback, but the courier has a ſmall light chaiſe, in which a ſtranger may alſo travel. At this time the couriers were very frequently attacked by robbers. But a German, who loves his native ſoil, cannot ſpeak of the conveniences for travelling in other countries, as compared with his own, without concern: for he may eaſily imagine himſelf in the ſituation of a foreigner, who muſt take his countrymen for barbarians, when he ſees how wretched the roads are in many parts, and the poſt often creeping along in open carriages, in the raw climate of Germany; and even theſe open, jolting, heavy vehicles, paid for as extra-poſt. To this may be added, the numerous impoſitions of the poſtillions, and the rudeneſs of the ſervants of the poſt, in which quality my countrymen exceed all other nations, even the Engliſh. In Germany, thoſe who travel extra-poſt may expect ſometimes to wait half the day on their horſes; in England alſo, they may ſometimes, though rarely, be detained; but in France an excellent rule prevails of not taking out the horſes till thoſe that are to replace them be brought out." p. 41-43.

" Montauban having been conſtantly in a ſtate of ſiege, we were obliged to

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* We cannot agree with our author in this reſpect. The roads in the Weſt of England are always commended and admired. His countryman M. Riechard, in his " Guide des Voyageurs," Tom. 2. has given a very different deſcription of them.

to have our paſſports examined. and counterſigned by the commandant, who lived in a ſmall mean houſe in a ſuburb, on the other ſide of the Tarn, was a good-natured friendly man, and expedited us without ceremony or delay. The ſimplicity of his houſe, and mode of life, had a republican air which I was ſurpriſed to find here for the firſt time; but in his apartment hung a beautiful engraving of the maſſacre of the National Guard of Montauban; a ſpecies of duplicity which might make the townſmen his enemies. The revolution did nothing more than give the reins to all the paſſions of mankind. Montauban, has from the oldeſt times, ſuffered many diſturbances on account of religion. The town was originally wholly proteſtant, and defended itſelf with extraordinary bravery againſt Louis XIII. who beſieged it, but was at length obliged to abandon the attempt. It afterwards ſubmitted with the reſt of the Proteſtant towns; but, on account of the number of Proteſtants, it ſuffered very much at the time of the dragooning-ſyſtem. The ſituation of Proteſtants in the ſouth of France, where the number was very great, is well known to have continued ever ſince that period very oppreſſive; and the greateſt favour the government could beſtow on them was graciouſly to forget them; in conſequence of which, however, the inhabitants remained expoſed to the oppreſſions of their Catholic neighbours. Under Louis XVI. a great many alleviations were granted them; but very ſtrict laws are requiſite to repreſs the ſpirit of religious party. ſo as to prevent it from oppreſſing perſons of a different opinion; and theſe laws did not exiſt. Thus a deep inveterate hatred was only ſtifled by a briſk trade, independent of party ſpirit. The revolution gave the Proteſtants full liberty to exerciſe their revenge; and the patriots, as they were then called, ſhowed themſelves by ridiculing the Catholic religion and its ceremonies. This mockery ſoon encreaſed into cruelty; which, alas! to the ſhame of its defenders, found protection amid the principles of theoretic liberty. A long ſeries of oppreſſion renders mankind depraved; and ſuch was the ſtate of a conſiderable number of the Proteſtants. To theſe oppreſſions are generally attributed the cruelties that diſgraced the beginning of the French revolution; whereas, on the contrary, that of the Engliſh in the preceding century afforded, during ſeveral years, no inſtance of the kind. In this point of view, the hiſtory of the revolution in the ſouth of France, in Languedoc, Quercy, and Gaſcony, ſhould be conſidered, the conteſt between the two religions being the principal ſource of all the diſturbances; for though it be not a pure religious intereſt, the people boldly refer to this cauſe, actions that would otherwiſe ſhock their moral feelings. The Proteſtant patriots firſt exerciſed their vengeance, which broke out with full liberty under the reign of terror; and it was to be expected that the oppoſite party would ſeize every opportunity of taking a ſignal revenge; an opportunity for which was offered by the maſſacre of the National Guard, and afterwards by the Societies of Jeſus and the Sun, both which were here eſtabliſhed. The miſſion of Fréron repreſſed the malecontents; but ſcarcely had Rewbel and his party in the Directory fallen, ere the diſturbances in Toulouſe and Gaſcony were renewed. The Proteſtant party went over but too eaſily to another, which has brought many calamities on France; a party of fanatics in irreligion and dogmatical infidelity. Many, who are diſpleaſed that others ſhould know more than themſelves, would dignify this party with the name of philoſophers, to render true philoſophy odious. But, while they thus let looſe their rage againſt philoſophy, they ſhould remember that they are equally

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abſurd with thoſe French fanatics, who imagine all religions bad, becauſe ſome have given occaſion to abuſes. A peculiar circumſtance procured us the confidence of the malecontents and Catholics in this country. A lady, formerly a nun, who had no paſsport, and, as ſoon after appeared, no money, thought herſelf happy to eſcape obſervation by travelling as one of our party. We were continually warned againſt the *enragés*, the Republicans, and the Proteſtants, words which had here preciſely the ſame ſenſe, and the one was uſed to explain the other. Thus we were very often told, "they are *enragés*, for they are Proteſtants." Throughout our journey, only twice was our ſervant detained on account of a paſſport, the latter of which occaſions took place in Gaſcony, where he enquired for the church, to fetch the nun, who had told us, "quelle vouloit payer une viſite au bon Dieu." And wherefore did we obtain the confidence of this nun? Becauſe, by mere chance, we ordered on the evening of a faſt day a ſupper conſiſtent with the rules of the church. By the conteſt of theſe two parties may be explained another circumſtance, which, at firſt ſight, appears very ſingular, namely, why thoſe towns, where the greateſt diſturbances have taken place, often ſuffered the leaſt. For there a conſiderable party, who had eſpouſed the revolution with vehemence and activity, were continually kept in a ſtate of ferment by the immediate threats of their neighbours; whereas, in all places where this oppoſition was wanting, general dejection, diſcontent, and melancholy prevailed." p. 49, 53.

"We did not quit without ſome regret the territories of a Republic; which, at this time, owing to the peace of Campo Formio, had riſen into conſequence, and kept a great part of Europe in awe. Nor is there any truth in the aſſertion, that it was then either dangerous or unpleaſant to travel there. The roads were good, except in the neighbourhood of Bayonne, where the war had deſtroyed them. The inns too were good, and very reaſonable; and we travelled amid a race of polite and complaiſant men. I have often performed botanical excurſions entirely alone to a conſiderable diſtance, and in a country where I was a total ſtranger: but, on the other hand, it is equally far from true that the inhabitants have ſeen any thing more than the name and the tree of liberty. Every where the people were diſcontented with the government, which only maintained its power through fear, and the dread of all revolutions which the nation muſt naturally feel. Except at Paris, it did not appear that the inhabitants wiſhed for the return of all the emigrants: and this was very natural. In ſhort, every violent republican ſhould be ſent to France, to cure him of this contagious diſorder; for there they (he) would ſoon confeſs, that a mild monarchy renders a country far happier than a Republic." p. 71.

Having diſcanted largely on many topics which relate to the moral ſtate of France, our author proceeds to deſcribe the condition and manners of the inhabitants of thoſe parts of Spain through which he journeyed. The following extract will afford our readers a tolerable idea of the capital and its neighbourhood.

"Madrid appears a very dead place, except at the time of the promenade in the Prado, or in the morning, at ſome part where a celebrated maſs is to be read. A great city, ſituated on a brook in an ungrateful country, where

where manufactures only flouriſh by means of extraordinary exertion and encouragement, and where the court reſides but a few weeks in the year, is great but by force, and that force is every where perceived. At Madrid there is a great ſcarcity of amuſements, which are therefore ſupplied by devotion, and its ſiſter paſſion love. In Spain, the ſtage is very poor; and at both the theatres at Madrid, in general, bad pieces are performed by miſerable players. One, however, of the actreſſes, who was not a bad performer, at this time ſhone in heroic parts. In this reſpect the Spaniards are even inferior to the Portugueſe, and have nothing to compare with the excellent opera at Liſbon. Spaniards ſeldom invite company to dinner, and more rarely, if ever, to ſupper. They confine themſelves to tertullas, where tea is given, and that great quantity of ſweetmeats devoured, at which Bourgoing expreſſed ſo much ſurpriſe. But that writer is miſtaken in applauding the temperance of the lower orders, and aſſerting, that no man but a foreigner is ever ſeen drunk at Madrid. I have ſeen many Spaniards drunk; and the Walloon ſoldiers may in ſome meaſure be excuſed for this vice; when, inſtead of the ſour wine of Germany and Italy, they can purchaſe the fiery La Mancha for a trifle." p. 99.

From the following paſſage, we learn that the ſcience of mineralogy, is likely to derive conſiderable acceſſions from the induſtry of a learned German, now reſident in Spain, and that the intereſting natural hiſtory of M. Buffon, has been ably tranſlated into the Spaniſh language by an eminent writer of that nation.

"With regard to mineralogy, the Saxon ambaſſador, Baron Forell, is extremely uſeful, both to Spain and to ſcience. He is a man of great mineralogical knowledge, poſſeſſes an excellent collection of Spaniſh minerals, and is ſtill endeavouring further to explore the great mineralogical treaſures of that country. He has prevailed on a very clever German, Mr. Herrgen, formerly belonging to the Auſtrian embaſſy, to tranſlate into Spaniſh, Wiedemann's mineralogical pocket-book, which that gentleman has perf rmed in a manner that does him honour. His connection with Don Clavijo, the ſuperintendant of the royal muſeum of natural hiſtory, ſtill further aſſiſts his exertions to advance this branch of ſcience. Don Clavijo is an amiable old man, though perhaps too far advanced in years to make himſelf acquainted with new ſyſtems of natural hiſtory, eſpecially of mineralogy. He is known to the Germans by having accidentally offered materials for Göthe's tragedy of the ſame name. But, though Don Clavijo knows that he has appeared on the German ſtage, he does not underſtand the language of that country, where he is leſs known for the ſervices he has rendered to Spaniſh literature. His tranſlation of Buffon's natural hiſtory is a maſter-piece of the kind; for no other tranſlation has ſo nearly attained the ſtrength of the original. No language, however, is ſo well adapted as the Spaniſh, to expreſs the pomp and energy of that work. Don Clavijo is perfect maſter of the Spaniſh language, though a native of the Canary Iſlands; and ſhews in every thing that ſurrounds him, a fine and delicate taſte. Hence he was extremely well qualified to ſuppreſs that tendency to bombaſt, to which this beautiful language naturally leads. His notes alſo on this work are valuable, and ſhew the accurate obſervation and literary knowledge of the author." p. 102.

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No one will read the following paſſage, without deploring the fallen ſtate of literature in a country, whoſe language is admirably adapted to diffuſe the nobleſt ſentiments with grandeur and preciſion.

" The government pay great attention to the arts and ſciences, in a manner which does them great honour. But this virtue is accompanied with the error of paying but little attention to men themſelves, who are the ſoul of every eſtabliſhment and regulation. Hence the choice of perſons for ſuch offices is generally ill made, from cauſes that may eaſily be gueſſed. In a country where learned men are ſo rare as in Spain, where few of them write books, perhaps ſtill fewer read them, no literary reputation can be acquired, and therefore the only means by which places can be obtained, are good connections. Men of great learning are but little known, as may eaſily be imagined; and I had ſome difficulty to convince a man of good underſtanding, that my reſpect for Cavanilles was real, and not mere politeneſs: for, in general, Spaniards pay attention only to external ſhew, and not to eſſentials, as may be perceived in every public work, as their roads and canals." p. 108.

" In the inns, near Madrid, the traveller ſtill finds nothing but a room with wretched furniture, few beds, and ſtill fewer as he proceeds. Theſe beds are, however, extremely good. Bread and wine he muſt purchaſe; beſides theſe, nothing but rice and mutton can be procured. The traveller, therefore, ſhould provide himſelf with hams, which he may purchaſe in the towns, or with rabbits, which are offered him in great abundance on the road, though more plentifully in Eſtremadura than here. The common wine is often excellent, even in the villages. No country poſſeſſes wines ſo ſtrong, and yet ſo ſweet; of which, however, *extremely little* is exported, or even known in foreign countries. The inhabitants of New Caſtile are inactive, and for that very reaſon curious and inquiſitive, by which they recommend themſelves to ſtrangers who know little of Spaniſh. Men who ſought for plants and inſects, which they deſcribed and drew, were, in this country, ſomewhat ſingular and remarkable; and we were ſoon ſurrounded by a crowd of people, who examined us, officiouſly offered us a great quantity of flowers, of which they told us the names and powers, agreeing with the greateſt botaniſts in one reſpect, namely, that they differed and diſputed relative to both. On a botanical excurſion near Oropeſa, a peaſant accoſted me, and aſked many queſtions relative of (to) my country. I praiſed it as far ſuperior to Spain; to which he had nothing to reply, but a repeated complaint I had often heard in this country, that he could find no work; till at length he bethought himſelf to aſk me, whether olive trees grew there. I anſwered too haſtily in the negative; upon which he burſt into a hearty laugh, that any man could love ſuch a country! With this he continually upbraided me, and aſked me in ſport, whether oil was cheap and good there; and when a third perſon came in, renewed the converſation, praiſing Germany, and ironically adding, *is una tierra bonita, toda iſta cubierta de olivos,* it is a fine country entirely covered with olive trees." p. 114.

It is impoſſible to have a full idea of the peculiar character of a Spaniſh view, without a knowledge of the nature and properties of the *Evergreen oak.* Our author has accordingly given the following deſcription of it.

" This tree ſeldom grows high, generally about the ſize of a moderate pear-tree; the ſtem is thick, and covered with a thin fiſated bark, with a head formed by ſhort branches, crowded together. The leaves are not deciduous, and are of the ſize of the pear-tree, being of a dark green above, whitiſh below, and curled upwards. The trees generally ſtand at a diſtance from each other, ſo that their tops do not touch, and they are wholly deſtitute of the fine effect of long waving interwoven branches. The ſhort thick ſtems often afford an appearance of great age, the curled leaves have a very thirſty appearance, and the wind often expoſes their lower ſides, which look dried up. Here a gentle breeze can ſcarcely be perceived, whereas in our woods (Germany) it creates a general ruſtling. The ſoil is parched and bare, and there is ſcarcely enough ſhade to render even a German ſummer tolerable, much leſs that of Spain. Here too reign ſilence and ſolitude, which accord well with ſome ſtates of the mind; but the darkneſs of our woods, and the murmur of thick interwoven branches, lead it into that melancholy, which muſt here ſpring from the ſpectator. Nothing conceals the gay Spaniſh ſky, which, however, in ſolitary deſerted ſpots, affords ſome ſatisfaction and repoſe." p. 119.

We do not enter upon the immediate ſubject of the preſent work until the 12th Chapter; we then find our author deſcribing his arrival at Elvas, the firſt city on the Portugueſe territory. As one general deſcription of the government and police of a ſingle city will ſuffice for the reſt, and as the ſubject is new to the generality of our readers we have ſelected our author's account of the adminiſtration of Elvas, from which they will be enabled to form a judgment of the political arrangements of Portugal.

" Elvas is governed by a corregedor, a provedor, and a juiz de fora, being the chief town of a corrigemento. I will here endeavour to explain theſe terms, as the ſubject is not properly explained in books of geography, or even in ſtatiſtical works. Originally every town and village in Portugal had its particular judge, who pronounced ſentence in the firſt inſtance, and was choſen by the inhabitants. Theſe judges are ſtill found in ſome villages and market towns in remote parts, as, for inſtance, near Cape St. Vincent's, &c. and are nearly the ſame as the German dorfſchulzen, or bailiffs. They are called *juizes daterra*, or country juſtices. But by ſmall degrees, as the power of the crown increaſed, and theſe officers perhaps giving occaſions to ſome diſturbances, judges were appointed by the crown, at firſt in the great towns, and then in the ſmall, and even in great villages. Theſe judges were required to have ſtudied at ſome Portugueſe Univerſity, and were called *juizes de fora*. All civil cauſes are in the firſt inſtance brought before them, and in ſmall places they alſo have cognizance of criminal proceſſes; for which, in the larger towns, a *juiz de crime* is ſeparately appointed. Portugal is divided both into provinces and diſtricts, which laſt are commonly called *comarcas*, or *corregimentos*; in the chief town of which is a corregedor, before whom civil and criminal proceſſes are brought in the ſecond inſtance. He has alſo the ſuperintendance of the *juizes de fora*, whom they can ſuſpend from their office. If the corregimento depends originally from the crown, it is called *correçao*; but if from *donatarios*, it is called *ouvidoria*. Thus Braganza is ſtill an ouvidoria, the Dukes of Braganza being the original donatarios; and

as moſt of ouvidorias depend on royal houſes, the diſtinction between thoſe two kinds of corregimentos is only attended to in official papers, nor is the word ouvidor ever uſed in common language, but corregedor, and in official papers *corregedor ouvidor*. The ſeat of the provedor is alſo in the chief town of the comarca; but he is totally independent of the corregedor, and has not only the ſuperintendance of the execution of wills, guardianſhips, &c. but of the royal revenues in the diſtrict. Under him alſo in the great towns as to what regards the former, is a *juiz dos orfaos*, or judge for orphans, from whom appeals lie to the *prouvedor*. Theſe are the moſt important judicial officers in the capitals of provinces, under whom are a variety of inferior officers, ſuch as *alcaldes, vereadores, meirinhos, and eſcrivaes*." p. 134, 136.

After all that has been ſaid of Portugal, the following repreſentation of the military diſcipline will appear ſurpriſing.

" The troops at Elvas, eſpecially the officers, had a truly military appearance; and a Pruſſian officer who ſhould ſee them on guard would almoſt have taken them for colleagues in ſervice, whereas the Spaniſh troops at Badajoz, he would have probably diſowned." p. 136.

The deſcription of the *Ciſtus Ladaniferus*, is remarkably correct, and it is abſolutely neceſſary to be acquainted with the nature of this plant, without which, no adequate idea can be formed of the appearances of the ſlate mountains.

" The ſlate mountains have always an airid barren appearance; and unuſually in the ſouthern parts of Portugal, covered with *ciſtus ladaniferus*. It is about four, and ſometimes ſix feet high, the leaves have nearly the form of thoſe of the *oleander*, are of a ſhining dark green, and not deciduous in winter: a very ſweet ſmelling gum covers the young buds and leaves, and diffuſes, particularly in the evening, a very pleaſant fragrance that ſeems to fill the air. Theſe plants do not form a very cloſe buſh; but ſtand ſo cloſe together, that it is difficult to force through them, and thus cramp the growth of every other plant. Hence it is very rare to find any beneath them. The flowers are uncommonly beautiful, but ſcarcely blow before they fall off. Each of the petals is almoſt three inches long by two broad, pure white; and ſome way in, on the under ſide, have a dark purple red ſpot, reſembling a drop. The whole plant is alſo uncommonly beautiful; but its uniformity, and the lonely deſerts it forms render it at length extremely irkſome. It ſerves for nothing but fuel and charcoal; though, were this country populous and induſtrious, the gum perhaps might be employed in various ways."

The following deſcription of the Caucaſan Goat (capra ægagrus Pall) an animal extremely rare on other European mountains, but inhabiting the Serra of Gerey, is well worthy the notice of the naturaliſt.

" Wolves are here ſo numerous as to render this range of mountains dangerous; but the moſt remarkable animal is the Caucaſan-goat. We ſaw ſeveral ſkins of them; and at length a three-year old he-goat that had been ſhot, was brought to Caldas, where the Count of Hoffmannſegg bought its ſkin, which was ſtuffed, and is preſerved in his collection. This

animal is larger, ſtronger, and more muſcular than the tame goat, particularly in the ſhoulders and parts near the heel. The forehead is higher, the horns riſe ſtraighter up and bend backwards, and the tail is not ſo long; the hair is ſhorter and thicker, being a mixture of grey and brown, and very ſimilar to that of a ſtag. A black croſs runs along the back and over the ſhoulders. The male, as in tame goats, is furniſhed with a beard, and the female has no horns. We carefully took the meaſure of this animal, which in other reſpects fully coincides with the deſcription of the writer on capra ægagrus. It is no where found in Portugal, except on the mountains of Gerez, nor have I ever learnt that it is found in Spain. Whether it be a degenerate and wild variety of the tame goat, or the wild parent ſtock of the latter, cannot with certainty be diſcovered, but it is evidently diſferent from it. The laſt of theſe hypotheſes appears to me moſt probable. It is found not uncommonly from hence to Montalegre, is hunted in great numbers by the inhabitants, and its fleſh is ſo much eſteemed, that the hunter who willingly ſold us the ſkin would not part with the carcaſe. The ſkins are here frequently uſed as covers for mules, and the horns are put up as ornaments in houſes." p. 349.

Nothing can be more intereſting than the deſcription of the *olive trees*, which abouud in the country round Coimbra.

" The olive-tree, indeed, is very common all over Portugal, from the northern frontier mountains of the Serra de Gerez to Algarvia, but moſt abounds in theſe midland parts, where the traveller may ſometimes purſue his way during whole days without ſeeing any other tree. There are ſeveral varieties of it; but in general the Portugueſe oil is better than that of Spain, though the olives are ſmaller. The olive-tree is planted by ſets *(tanchoes)* or it is grafted on the wild olive *(azambryeiro)*, which is by no means ſcarce in many parts of Portugal. The latter method affords a more durable ſtem. The ſets are cut off from old trees in autumn, from which time they are kept in moiſt earth, and are ſet from the beginning of January to the end of April, according to the ſituation of the ſoil. In the firſt years they are hoed, to deſtroy weeds, and the land is ſewed with corn; but this method of cultivation is not common except in Algarvia. While the trees are young, the ſuperfluous branches are cut off; but the olive-tree bears very late, not till its fifteenth year. Hence it appears how injurious war is to this branch of agriculture, and how horrid the revenge recorded in ſacred hiſtory of cutting down the enemy's olive-trees. The olives are ripe in December and January, at which time men climb the trees and beat them with long poles, while the olives are received in extended cloths, or gathered up from the ground. It would certainly be better were the olives plucked by the hand as in the ſouth of France. Some preſs them immediately on their being brought home in baſkets; others ſhoot them down in heaps, throwing ſalt between them, and ſuffering them to ferment in order to produce more oil, of which, however, the quality is inferior. The preſſes are worked by oxen, but the want of cleanlineſs, both in theſe machines and throughout the whole proceſs, contributes much to render the quality of the oil worſe than it might be. In this country, where oil is uſed inſtead of butter and fat with all kinds of food, it is burnt in large quantities in lamps, and ſoap prepared from it; beſides other uſes, that article is an object of great conſumption, and is carried from Coimbra into the other provinces. The Portugueſe pickle only the ripe brown olive; but

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at good tables the large Spaniſh unripe olives alone are ſeen, as they are every where preferred. The wood of the olive-tree might be very uſeful, being yellow, cloſe grained, and beautiful, but is only employed as fuel, the woods from Brazil having ſuperſeded all other kinds of timber. The olive-tree is ſubject to two diſeaſes, the one called *a gafa*, ariſes in damp ſituations, ſhrivelling up both leaves and fruit; the other, called *ferragem* (or ruſt), is very prevalent in the midland and ſouthern part of Portugal. In this diſorder the leaves ſhrivel, are covered beneath with a black clammy ſubſtance, and a great number of inſects belonging to the family of *coccus*, but not yet eſtabliſhed as a ſeparate ſpecies. Hence the tree ſickens, and bears ſmaller fruit and in leſs quantity. Complaints are every where made of this diſorder, which employs the attention of the learned and of economiſts as much as the dry rot or the caterpillars, called *nonnenraupe*, occupy the German naturaliſts and foreſters. The academy of Liſbon once offered a premium for the beſt tragedy; but, when the ſealed paper was opened, which accompanied the ſucceſsful piece, a petition was found, inſtead of the name of the writer, requeſting that the premium might be given to the author of the beſt treatiſe on the means of preventing the ruſt in olive-trees; a juſt and delicate reproof to the Academy. Hitherto no other remedy has been diſcovered than cutting off the infected branches, which is too ſevere a mode of cure; for probably this inſect, like all ſuch animals, has its period, and would at length ceaſe of itſelf. In the economical treatiſes of the Academy, vol. i. p. 8, Vandelli has given his opinion, that the inſect is a *coccus*, and adviſes, beſides cutting off the branch, to ſprinkle the tree with ſalt-water. In vol. iii. p. 154, another method is propoſed on this ſubject by Antonio Suaſes Barboſa, who firſt gives the natural hiſtory of the inſect, with a deſcription not ſtrictly according to the rules of ſcience, and then proceeds to ſhow that the black clammy ſubſtance does not ariſe from the inſect; but from an overflow of ſap *(chymomania)*. The author is indeed no bad obſerver, but the inferences he draws from his obſervations cannot be approved. I have often obſerved this ſpecies of ruſt, to which the name is indeed but ill adapted, and have ſeen it not only in olive-trees, but in the ciſti, particularly the *ciſtus halimifolius*, and other ſhrubs, and muſt agree with this author, that the black ſubſtance does not immediately ariſe from the inſects; to me it ſeems much rather to be a vegetable. It does not, however, thence follow, that the inſects are not the remote cauſe of it, as their ſting may cauſe the ſap to flow out, and the diſeaſe of the tree may give riſe to theſe cryptogamic paraſytes, diſeaſed trees being more apt to produce moſſes and fungi, than the healthy." p. 308.

The following account of the culture and preparation of figs, which form a conſiderable article of traffic between Portugal and this country, will be highly acceptable to our readers.

"The moſt important produce exported from hence (Faro) conſiſts of figs, which the country people bring to town to the warehouſes of the merchants who deal in that article. They are there thrown down in a heap in a building prepared for that purpoſe, where a ſyrup flows from them, which is uſed with advantage for making brandy. They are then ſpread to dry in the ſun, in an open ſituation, where they are left a few days, in proportion to the heat of the weather; after which they are preſſed into ſmall baſkets made of the leaves of the fan palm, each containing

28lb. and ſent off. The greater part of thoſe grown here are of the white kind, but the red are better, among which the figo, do Enchaſio and do Biſſo are very excellent. Greece and Algarvia are, I believe, the only countries where caprification is practiſed; for here are ſome varieties of figs, and thoſe very excellent, that fall to the ground unmatured, unleſs punctured by the gnats. To further this, another otherwiſe wholly uſeleſs variety of fig-tree is grown, wherein theſe inſects which are larvæ of an ichneumon, abound. Theſe trees are called figos de toca, from *tocar*, to touch. From this tree branches are broken and hung upon that intended to be impregnated. Here the larvæ comes forth, perforate the fruit, and the perfect animals place themſelves on the figs of the tree on which theſe branches are hung, puncture them, and thereby advance their maturity. This method of ripening figs, which is certainly excellent, was known to the ancients, who called it caprificatio. It is alſo cuſtomary in the Archipelago, and is deſcribed by Tournefort in his Travels. I have never ſeen the perfect animal, but have ſought for the larvæ in the figos de toca, which I found to be female figs, and that from them no pollen is conveyed by the inſect to the other figs, as Linnæus imagined. I am fully convinced that the puncture of the inſect only ſerves to give vent to the ſap and ſtimulate its effuſion, thereby not only preventing the falling of the fruit, but rendering it ſweeter and better flavoured. It is well known that many fruits, when punctured by inſects, ripen ſooner, and thus not unfrequently acquire a ſweet taſte. The fig-tree requires very little other culture, it is propagated by layers, the trees produced from ſeeds bearing uneatable fruit, and requiring to be grafted. This tree is contented with a dry bad ſoil; I have often ſeen wild fig-trees growing on naked rocks, or on walls where was no earth. It often attains the ſize of a pear-tree, and its vertex ſpreads ſo much that it almoſt ſeems to reſt upon the earth. A ſpecies of coccus produces on this tree, as on the olive, a kind of ruſt, which does great miſchief. Algarvia is the only province of Portugal from which dried figs are exported." p. 447.

We ſhall conclude our extract, which, from the importance of the preſent work, might have been conſiderably extended, notwithſtanding the limits of a review, with a very extraordinary circumſtance in natural hiſtory.

"A merchant, named Lempriere, an Engliſhman who reſides at Faro, is poſſeſſed of a great, natural curioſity, a young mule, being a mongrel between a mule and an aſs. On the mountains of Monchique, a mule ſuddenly became pregnant, without any one knowing the ſire, and produced a young one, which the proprietor, who, was a peaſant, carried about while it ſuckled its dam, and ſhowed for money. The Governor of Faro, Brigadier Connell, an Iriſhman, who himſelf told us the ſtory, being then at Lagos, purchaſed, and afterwards preſented it to his friend Lempriere." p. 450.

From the paſſages which we have cited out of this publication, our readers muſt perceive that it is not only a work fraught with much inſtruction to the ſcientific, but abounding with a great variety of entertaining and general knowledge for every deſcription of perſons. In the deſcriptions of the different articles which fall more immediately

ately within the province of natural hiſtory, the Profeſſor has been ſcrupulouſly exact, and he has avoided that diſagreeable prolixity, which two often diſtinguiſhes the writers of this claſs. It was our wiſh to have preſented our readers with ſeveral additional extracts from the 31ſt Chapter, on the Culture of the Vine. But, on a careful peruſal of its contents, we diſcovered the impoſſibility of doing juſtice either to the author or to the ſubject, by curtailing any part of that intereſting deſcription. He is throughout remarkable for preciſion and conciſeneſs; conſequently the circumſcribed bounds of our duty left us no power of choice; we muſt, therefore, refer our readers to the book itſelf, for the elucidation of many important articles which immediately intereſt the commerce of Great Britain, and the proſperity of Portugal. At the end of the Travels is ſubjoined an excellent "Diſſertation on the Literature of Portugal, and the Spaniſh and Portugueze Languages." Melancholy as the condition of the ſciences may be in the former kingdom, we were not a little pleaſed to find that it is not ſo miſerable as the generality of writers have repreſented, or the generality of readers have believed. Much, doubtleſs, remains to be done: but every thing muſt depend on a wiſe and liberal adminiſtration, to remove the diſcouragements which the purſuits of literature experience in that country. Until that happy æra ſhall have arrived, we ſhall look in vain for the genius that awakened the muſe of a Camoens and a Macedo, or cheriſhed the reſearchos of a Balboſa. We muſt expect only wretched imitations of ſuch wretched productions as Ferabras, the Duke of Burgundy, Rinaldo, and the reſt of the long catalogue of fanatics and knights-errant.

We cannot ſubſcribe to all the remarks of our author, in his comparative view of the Spaniſh and Portugueze languages, and we totally differ from him in the preference which he has given to the latter over the former. Notwithſtanding the ſonorous terminations of the Spaniſh, it poſſeſſes an uncommon degree of harmony, and a greater variety of tones than the Italian; and when well ſpoken, is diſtinguiſhed by its elegant and inſinuating ſuavity. The Profeſſor obſerves, that the Portugueze pronunciation requires leſs exertion, is far removed from all affectation, and reſembles a ſibillating whiſper; and thence he infers, that for eaſe in converſation, the Portugueze is preferable to the Spaniſh. But this is not the fact; a well-bred Spaniard enunciates without any degree of exertion or affectation. Even the gutturals, againſt which the Profeſſor (a German too!) ſo much excepts, are rarely found in the terminations of words; and when this occurs, they are always articulated by thoſe who thoroughly underſtand the art of pronouncing Spaniſh, in a tone of ſoftneſs, that confers a ſingular degree of ornamental variety and richneſs on that language. We apprehend that the Profeſſor has been deceived by the *Patois* dialect, and the provincial intonations of the Spaniſh, and we are confirmed in this opinion by ſeveral errors which he has committed in his criticiſm, particularly in p. 449, where he has palpably miſtaken the juſt pronunciation of *ch* and the *z*. As to the "ſibillating

whiſper," which he ſo much admires, it is often ridiculouſly diſguſting in the Portugueze; but if he would by this term convey to our minds an idea of a ſoft, liquid intonation of words, or rather of a ſweet flow of one word into another, we need go no further to correct his miſtake than by a reference to the beautiful Canzonets in Cervantes of Altiſidora, or any of the charming paſtoral epiſodes of that writer, which, cannot be read without determining the queſtion of the ſuperior beauty and harmony of the Spaniſh language. To this may be added, the remarkable ambiguity of the Portugueze in the uſe of the definite and indefinite articles, whereas the former is juſtly celebrated for that purity and clearneſs, which denote it to be the language of a people once renowned for genius and for freedom.

This is the principal objection we have to prefer againſt this excellent work; in every other reſpect it merits our warmeſt commendation. Among other circumſtances, which forcibly recommend it to the public attention, we cannot forbear to notice, that it has corrected a great number of errors which are to be found in Lopez's Map of Portugal, and Lima's Geography; it fills up all the blanks that were left by former travellers, ſuch as Murphy, Twiſs, &c. and it conveys information which will not be found in any ſtatiſtical work on that country.

We cannot diſmiſs the preſent article, without diſcharging a very unpleaſant duty in reſpect to the tranſlation of this work. We are well aware of the great and laborious taſk of transferring into a foreign tongue, the turns of ſtyle, and idioms of a language, ſo complex as the German. But we have a right to expect in the tranſlation of a work, which we regard as highly meritorious, calculated to increaſe our ſtore of knowledge, and to be reſerved from frequent peruſal, more than ordinary pains and attention to the rules of grammar and correctneſs of ſtyle. Theſe rules, according to the excellent obſervations of D'Alembert,* are as eſſential to tranſlation as to the original works. "One of the greateſt difficulties," ſays that author, "attendant on the art of tranſlating, is to know when to ſacrifice correctneſs to eaſe, a rigorous exactitude to the mechaniſm of ſtyle. Reaſon is a ſevere judge which we ought to fear; the ear is a capricious one, which we ought to conciliate. We muſt not, therefore, impoſe upon ourſelves the duty of giving a literal tranſlation of ſentences, even where the genius of two languages do not appear oppoſite, leſt the tranſlation become dry, inſipid, and inharmonious." We are ſorry to perceive a total neglect of this important rule throughout Mr. Hinkley's tranſlation: even the firſt chapter exhibits repeated inſtances of inaccuracy in grammar, and redundance in ſtyle, which render its peruſal extremely dull, and even difficult; and theſe errors are the more unpardonable, becauſe the tranſlator has prefixed errata to his tranſlation. In the firſt page the town of Dover is tranſlated into "a city;" in the ſecond, the want of the relative "who" in the following paſſage, renders the ſenſe doubtful. "At length appeared a member of the Municipality, at-

* Obſervations ſur l'art de traduire.

attended by a ſecretary, *ordered* us, together with a ſoldier in a ragged uniform, &c." In the ſame ſentence are two other egregious faults: "*At* the gate of which we were taken into a houſe, and made to ſign our names; *then to another*, where we were ſearched, &c." *At* is uſed inſtead of *by* or *beſide*, for they could not be taken into a houſe, while they were *at* the gate. The words *then to another* are totally ambiguous; we know not whether they mean, to another member of the Municipality, another houſe, or another gate. In the ſame page, we have an inſtance of that cenſurable literal tranſlation, which D'Alembert has ſo juſtly expoſed, and which renders the ſenſe perfectly ridiculous. Thus, "The landlord, who had come as far as the beach to ſeek for gueſts, was *obliged to anſwer for us*, after which we were very politely permitted to go wherever we pleaſed!" Theſe gentlemen muſt have been reduced to a truly deplorable condition, not to be able to anſwer for themſelves, but to be obliged (frightened, we ſuppoſe, at the ragged ſoldier,) to call in the aſſiſtance of an inn-keeper, whom they never ſaw before, and who muſt have been a conjuror indeed, if he had anſwered all the queſtions that were put to foreigners on the moment of their landing. Mr. Hinckley ſhould have ſtated, that the landlord became *ſecurity*, or undertook *to be reſponſible*, for the travellers, not to be their ſpokesman. In the very firſt ſentence of the ſucceeding page, are no leſs than five ungrammatical expreſſions; "though it is cuſtomary here to appoint *to* (over) every ſuſpected perſon a guard, who accompanies *them* (him) every where, and with whom *they* (he) may go about freely, and make viſits; for which, however, *they* (he) muſt give them (him) daily pay. In the ſame page we are told of "the inſpector of the cuſtoms," inſtead of the *collector*; and that the "*military commander* in every ſea-port is furniſhed with paſsports, ready ſigned by the Duke of Portland, which he delivers to foreigners, *of whom there is no cauſe for ſuſpicion.*" The military commander has nothing to do with the paſsports; their regulation belongs to the civil department, and is executed by proper perſons in the different alien-offices. The latter part of the ſentence is a literal and barbarous tranſlation from the German. In page 5, it is ſaid, "the only public walks now remaining are the *walls* of the town and the mole; the dirty condition of *both which* muſt, &c." The promenade of the people of Calais, we believe, is not on walls, but on ramparts; if they were to walk on the walls, they might run a chance of breaking their necks. The words "*both which*" are not grammar. In page 12, we are told that "a very fine road leads through the beautiful town of St. Denis, the lofty ſpires of whoſe church, *where* (in which) the remains of the Kings of France are depoſited, *is* (are) viſible *in* (from) all parts of the ſurrounding country." In this paſſage are no leſs than *three* defects in grammar; beſides the extraordinary phenomenon, which Mr. Hinckley has diſcovered in the ſcience of optics, by which the lofty ſpires of the church of St. Denis may be ſeen in a thouſand different places at one time. This wonderful diſcovery has been effected by the improper application of the trifling little prepoſition *in*, inſtead of the prepoſition *from*. So

ridiculous

ridiulous may the ſlighteſt inattention render a plain and ſimple propoſition!

We ſhall not fatigue our readers with any further enumeration of the numberleſs errors, both in grammar and compoſition, with which almoſt every page of the tranſlation abounds. We are certainly much indebted to the tranſlator, for his attempt to put into an Engliſh dreſs a very inſtructive publication. We ſhall therefore diſmiſs our obſervations, with a friendly recommendation to Mr. Hinckley, to apply himſelf ſeriouſly to the ſtudy of the rules of *Engliſh* grammar, before he undertakes the arduous taſk of tranſlating a foreign author; and ſhould Profeſſor Link's Travels reach a ſecond edition, which they merit, and indeed require, that he will procure ſome careful friend to reviſe his manuſcript before it is committed to the preſs, which we can aſſure him, on the authority of two of the greateſt maſters of criticiſm whom we have cited below, will be no derogation from his character or his abilities. The advice applies as well to proſe as to poetry.

Quinctilio ſi quid recitares; corrige, ſodes,
Hoc, aiebat, et hoc; melius te poſſe negares
Bis, terque expectum fruſtra, delere jubebat
Et male tornatos incudit reddere verſus.
Si defendere delictum, quam vertere, malles,
Nullum ultra verbum, aut operam inſumebat inanem
Quin ſine rivali teque et tua ſolus amares.
Vir bonus et prudens verſus reprehendet inertes;
Culpabit duros: incomptis allinet atrum
Tranſverſu calamo ſignum; ambitioſa recidet,
Ornamenta, parum claris lucem dare coget,
Arguet ambigue dictum, mutanda notabit.

Hor. De arte Poetica, v. 438.

The above excellent lines are thus paraphraſed by Boileau.

Un ſage ami, toujours rigoreux, inflexible,
Sur vos fautes jamais ne vous laiſſe paiſible.
Il ne pardonne point les endroits négligés.
Il renvoie en leur lieu les vers mal arrangés.
Il réprime des mots l'ambitieuſe emphaſe.
Ici le ſens le choque; et plus loin c'eſt la phraſe.
Votre conſtruction ſemble un peu s'obſcurcir.
Ce terme eſt equivoque, il le faut eclaircir.
C'eſt ainſi que vous parle un ami véritable.

L'Art Poetique. Chant. 1.

A Diſſertation on the Oriental Trinities, extracted from fourth and fifth Volumes of Indian Antiquities. By the Author. 8vo. Pp. 458. White. London. 1800.

IN

IT is the fate of many of the beſt literary productions, either to be re-publiſhed in deſultory ſcraps, dignified with the name of *beauties*; or to be cut down by a haſty, foreign, and oftentimes, avaricious hand, to a ſmaller ſize than the original work, under the commodious title of abridgment, or abſtract. The conſequence of which is, that the meaning of the author is frequently obſcured, if not utterly perverted.

Were there then no higher credit due to the writer of theſe Diſſertations, than having taken the charge upon himſelf of having them re-printed in a ſeparate form, we ſhould entirely approve of it, and recommend his example to other diſtinguiſhed *labourers*, for the inſtruction, or amendment, of their fellow-creatures. But the caſe here is very different indeed, and goes far beyond it. It cannot be diſputed that among all the celebrated writers of the preſent day in elucidating or defending the holy Scriptures, there is ſcarcely one, who has more profoundly and patiently inveſtigated a ſubject, above all others difficult of comprehenſion, and intricate, but not deficient, in proper authorities, than Mr. MAURICE. In this reſpect the Church of England is ſingularly *indebted* to him for his ingenious and unwearied collateral ſupport of teſtimony to her leading and moſt diſputed doctrine—the TRINITY. The original work, of which theſe Diſſertations are a comprehenſive and complete Extract, has for ſome time been laid before the public, and therefore, in its preſent detached appearance, not ſubject again to notice, much leſs to the tribunal of criticiſm. Our motive for introducing it now, as it was the author's for ſeparating it from his main work, will be explained below; but, impelled by the temptation of the moment, we cannot refrain from recapitulating the principal contents of this valuable treatiſe on the ſolid ground, that the INDIAN ANTIQUITIES muſt, from the price of it, have been withholden from many *ſtudents* of *Divinity*, who are greatly, though not alone, intereſted in the awful myſtery it refers to; and who may wiſh to have a *general* idea of the whole before they become poſſeſſed of it.

In his firſt Diſſertation, Mr. Maurice treats of the doctrine of the TRINITY, as revealed to man in Paradiſe—of the Indians, divided into four great tribes and various inferior caſts; but all uniting in the adoration of one grand TRIAD, *Brahma*, *Veeſhnu*, and *Seeva*; the office of the firſt, being to *create*, of the ſecond, to *preſerve*, and *mediate*, and the third, to *quicken* and *regenerate*; a general view is next taken, of what is meant by the ſcriptural doctrine of the Trinity: the true origin of that contempt and rancour, with which the Jews are inflamed againſt the Meſſiah, is unfolded; and hence the rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity by the modern Hebrews accounted for: the ſceptical argument that the Paraclete is a mere quality or principle, is confuted; and each Hypoſtaſis being proved ſeparately to poſſeſs all the ſublime functions that ſtamp Divinity on the Poſſeſſor, each is truly God; the remarkable teſtimony of PHILO

Judæus:-

Judæus: the general inference, that the doctrine of the Trinity was certainly, though obscurely, known to the ancient Jews.

In his second Dissertation Mr. Maurice, in an extensive field of inquiry, untrodden before he explored it, investigates the source of the PAGAN-TRIADS of Deity, and explains the symbolic representations of them, on Sculptures, and Medals, diffused through Asia.

As a specimen of our author's style, and a trait of his modesty and good sense, we invite the reader to examine and ponder well on his concluding paragraph, "I must beg permission, says he, again to observe, that on these mysterious points, which human reason cannot fathom, it is in vain that we make that reason the umpire. That finite man, however, can form no adequate conception of this great truth, by no means implies impossibility, or contradiction in the thing itself. This circumstance arises from the limited nature of the human faculties. Neither the Trinity, nor the Incarnation, can be proved; nor were intended to be proved, by philosophical argument. The word of God is the sole basis of the proofs, and solutions of these stupendous doctrines. They are wisely shaded from our view, the better to excite in us the ardour of faith; and exercise the virtues, necessary to obtain the sublime rewards which it proposes to persevering piety. The Almighty has been pleased to erect mounds, and ramparts, as of old, at Sinai, around the abode of his Majesty, to ward off the dangerous curiosity of man: he hath wrapped himself in clouds, that we might not be consumed by the full blaze of that glory, which invests the eternal throne."

After this sketch of the present publication, which is entitled to uncommon praise; and from which the Church will receive solid and lasting benefit, we are to state the motive for its being reprinted by itself; and what, we presume, to be the fact; namely, that Mr. Maurice has been induced to detach it from the great body of his oriental researches, and if we mistake not, with no trifling increase of hazard, by adding such expensive plates: and all this, with the *reasonable hope*, we will only call it, of these Dissertations being recommended to a particular description of students, for whose instruction they are eminently calculated. It has hitherto failed of its express object; but we would not hastily conclude, it has so happened, through the supineness or colder indifference of any head of the Church; who ought never to be suspected of misleading so respectable a writer, or of deserting him afterwards: a hard fate, from which the best authors are by no means exempted. And yet this has been insinuated in the present case, and thereby, no doubt, a fresh and galling disappointment unexpectedly charged home upon the feeling breast of this public-spirited, modest, and worthy man. Such treatment is certainly a very ill-judged, and infallible method to damp the ardour of genius, and literary energy; and in these perilous times of perverting sectarism, of increasing bitter enmity, we fear, to the

Church,

Church, to leſſen the number of her able and conſcientious defenders. Inſtances, we hear, have not been wanting, and one in particular might be pointed out, where unſolicited preferment has been *heaped* upon a clergyman, by the biſhop of a different dioceſe, as an overflowing reward for a work, the orthodox ſoundneſs of which, to go no deeper into its ſterling merits, and eventful adoption, has ſince been greatly diſputed. Mr. Maurice's writings in the cauſe of Chriſtianity, and of the higheſt and pureſt eſtabliſhment in this country, that embraces and maintains it, are liable to no ſuch exception; and his *original* labours and ingenuity have been more than double, in proportion, to the evidences we allude to. Nay, we may ſafely go farther, and impartially pronounce, that, in the whole extent of theological ſcience, there is, probably, no point of greater conſequence to the confirmation of the Chriſtian faith, and certainly none of greater difficulty to ſettle, than the one which Mr. Maurice has ſucceſsfully handled. Is there not then another munificent patron, we aſk it with reverence, to be found, to provide for this firm champion in fighting the good fight of faith? We cannot learn, that Mr. Maurice is ambitious of honours, or greedy of gain; or, in ſhort, that any thing bordering upon "purple and fine linen, and faring ſumptuouſly every day," is his object or deſire; but only a few of the ſolid crumbs of *comfort*, that fall from any of his rich maſters table: enough to ſupply the 'mundus victus, et non deficiente crumena.' At leaſt, we truſt, that every reaſonable cauſe of complaint will be removed, by ſuch an active recommendation of theſe Diſſertations, that, taking them at their very loweſt eſtimate, Mr. Maurice may be fully indemnified, for the great and oppreſſive expence of having them ſeparately re-printed. We confeſs we have, in this inſtance, ſtepped out of our way, but our opinion is as wholly unbiaſſed, as it is free, and we may ſurely be ſometimes allowed to ſink for a moment the office of *critics* in our feelings as *men*.

Poems, by John Penn, Eſq. In two Volumes. Conſiſting of Original Works, Imitations, and Tranſlations. 8vo. Pp. 520. Hatchard. London. 1801.

FROM the firſt dawn of literature, in this country, till nearly the middle of the eighteenth century, men of noble birth and large property, have diſtinguiſhed themſelves, not only as liberal patrons of ſcience, in all its branches, but as authors of high excellence, eſpecially in *poetry* and *criticiſm*; and the annals of claſſical learning boaſt ſome of the proudeſt names of the Engliſh nobility amongſt thoſe whom they celebrate as the brighteſt ornaments of polite literature.

It is not our buſineſs here to inveſtigate the cauſe of this not being generally the caſe at preſent; but it is, with the greateſt ſatisfaction,

that

that we recognize, in the work now before us, a gentleman of illuſtrious family and ample fortune, contributing to the ſtores both of claſſical compoſition, and juſt and diſcriminating criticiſm.

From the preface, which contains ſome pertinent remarks on the different pieces in the two volumes, we ſelect the following paſſage, which will at once make our readers acquainted with the author's reaſon for the re-publication of ſome poems already printed, and will furniſh them with a fair ſpecimen of his proſe compoſition.

"Of the poems which have been before publiſhed, I have chiefly to repeat what I have already ſaid. They are the produce of that leiſure which, though coming unſought for to the lover of literature, tends equally to multiply proofs of the natural bias of his mind. Part of them are only to be attributed to the occaſions which apparently called them forth; but the generality are owing alſo, more or leſs, to a deſire I had of exemplifying ſome points of criticiſm, and of poſſeſſing a ſort of memorial of thoſe judgments, which the purſuits I was engaged in had from time to time led me to form. As theſe opinions, therefore, bear rather a cloſe relation to the poems collectively conſidered, I conceive, that to refer to ſome of the former in treating of the latter, will not only be thought not foreign to the purpoſe, but that, in affording new matter for reflection, it will ſenſibly apologize to the reader, for calling his attention twice to the ſame compoſitions."

Of the Sonnets we give the following which has much merit, and breathes that patriotic ſpirit which ſo diſtinguiſhes all Mr. Penn's writings and actions.

Sonnet written on Mount Merlin, in Wales, 1796.

"Famed hill, that, as Tradition tells, wouldſt ſhow
To lonely Merlin, hence around diſplay'd,
Thoſe varied beauties; mountains with their ſhade,
Far reaching, and meandering ſtreams below;
Thou, to whoſe ſummit, Fate's decrees to know,
Ere Love his footſteps to the lake * convey'd,
High chiefs, 'tis ſung, their eager journies made,
Now on ſuch godlike gifts none faith beſtow.
Yet though my country, for a thouſand years,
Were taught its doom, what warning more deſired,
Or truer, could from hallow'd caverns ſound,
Than this, "unfriended by his faithleſs fears,
"Baſeneſs ſhall rue the boon his prayers acquired,
"And Valour be, alone, by fortune crown'd!"

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* "—— the Lady of the Lake,
Whom long he loved, for him in haſte did ſend.

In the mean time, through that falſe ladies traine,
He was ſurpriſed, and buried under beare,
Ne ever to his work return'd againe.
Fairie Queen, B. iii. c. 3. ſtanza 9."

The

The continuation of the long ſtory by Gray, has much of the ſpiri of the original. The pillar in honour of Sir Edward Coke, which is mentioned in a note, as erecting by Mr. Wyatt, is now compleated.

Of the tragedy of the Battle of Eddington we ſhall only remark as it has already been reviewed, that many of the moſt intereſting parts of Mr. Pye's Alfred are copied from it. Particularly the revolt of the Iriſh, from the Danes, and the aſſiſtance and ſubmiſſion of the Scots.

The ſecond volume opens with an imitation of the Squire's Tale, from Chaucer, in which the ſpirit of the original is preſerved in the modern garb it now aſſumes.

After a ſpirited imitation of the ſixth ſatire of Perſius, follows Horne's Epiſtle to the Piſos adapted to Engliſh writers and Engliſh literature, and accompanied by copious notes, from which we ſhall give ſome extracts.

In the note, on p. 62. l. 7, we think the ode, and eſpecially that of Pindar, is ſo well defined, that our reader will be obliged to us for citing it.

"I will not diſpute our having exhibited flights equal, or ſuperior, to the ancients in lyric poetry, but, perhaps, if it is indiſpenſable to ſtudy them in any line, it is in this. The narrative ſtyle, which is ſo much uſed by Pindar, is ſeldom, if ever, to be found in any other lyric; and yet if tranſition characterizes the ode, variety of ſtyles increaſes the means of its effect, as it is, of itſelf, the ſupport of epic poetry: the dramatic ſtyle, which is uſual with Horace, we have good inſtances to boaſt of. It has often ſtruck me, that the ode might, advantageouſly for this art, be compared with converſation. Thoſe who inſiſt upon methodical arrangement in the former, would probably ridicule any thing like formal regularity in the latter; and even allow leſs of it than ought always to be in the ode. If a perſon at table with a party were, by lively ſallies and pointed remarks, to interrupt the thread of the ſtory he was relating to the company, they would not object to his digreſſions, if they were digreſſions marked with propriety; and it would be allowed, that this *liveliness* was the character of converſation. I think, however, that Pindar does not always preſerve the juſt bounds of the *tenui deducta poemata ſilo.*"

The whole of the note on p. 75, l. 1, demands the moſt ſerious attention of the dramatic critic.

Mr. Penn ſpeaking of the ill effect of protracted ſcenes, where a long dialogue diſguſts from want of action, ſays—

"I would recommend *Bell's Theatre*, to promote this principle, for every dramatic collection both here and abroad. There is more of philoſophy in thoſe inverted commas than appears at firſt ſight; and I wiſhed, if poſſible, to ſee the cuſtom of *curtailing* traced to ſo great an authority as Garrick, in his life lately written by one who was well qualified to place ſuch ſubjects in their proper point of view. One of the plaineſt advantages of action may be obſerved in the performance of plays. Having myſelf obſerved it there, I was led to remark elſewhere that it is mere declamation

mation that depends upon *the tone of an actor*; whereas incident or action employs his thoughts; and hence, the worſt will often deliver himſelf pleaſingly, becauſe naturally."

Of the tranſlation from Petrarch we can only ſay that we have yet never ſeen any that has pleaſed us, but theſe are the leaſt diſpleaſing of any we have met with.

It is no praiſe to ſay that the Ode of Pindar is greatly ſuperior to that by Mr. Barnaby Green. We think it equal to the ſpecimens left us by Weſt.

We conclude our review of theſe volumes, by recommending to them to our readers as abounding with elegant compoſition, and with critical remarks delivered with clearneſs and preciſion. Something, however, remains to be ſaid on the beauty of the typography and the ſplendour of the embelliſhments. Of the typography and paper, it is ſufficient to remark, that it is from the preſs of Bulmer. But the work is farther adorned by a number of beautiful engravings from drawings by the beſt artiſts.

The buſt of the author from the chiſſel of *Deare* is a very fine ſpecimen of art, and an engraving by Schiavonetti, after a drawing from it by Tendi, is prefixed to the firſt volume.

The following views are very neatly engraved by Byrne from drawings which do great credit to the reſpective artiſts.

1ſt. The Junction of the Parrot and Thone at Athelney in Somerſetſhire, by E. Gawey, Eſq. R. A.

2d. The Solitude near Philadelphia, by R. E. Pine.

3d. The Church Yard where Gray lies buried, and his monument at a diſtance from a garden ſeat in Stoke Park, juſt over the grave ſtones of Groom and Tyack, who are mentioned in the long ſtory by Tendi.

4th. Alfred's Tower in Selwood Foreſt, by Sir R. Hoare, Bart.

There is alſo in the firſt volume, a very beautiful view of Mr. Penn's houſe, with Sir Edward Coke's pillar in the park, as ſeen from the croſs road to Clievden and Beaconsfield, drawn by Tendi, and finely engraved by S. Fittler.

The Tragedy of the Battle of Eddington is ornamented by an engraving of Skelton's, from an elegant deſign, by Smirke, and by the beforementioned view of Alfred's Tower in Selwood Foreſt.

The plates in the ſecond volume are,

1ſt. From the Squire's Tale modernized from Chaucer, drawn by Smirke, and engraved by Parker.

2d. From the ſecond part of the ſame ſubject, in which the combined talents of thoſe very eminent artiſts, Smirk and Heath, are diſplayed to great advantage.

3d. Gray's Monument, with a diſtant View of Windſor Caſtle, by Freebairn, and engraved by Landſeer.

4th. A Medallion, from a model, after an original picture of Franceſco Petrarch, in the Piombino Palace at Rome.

5th. A ſubject from Petarch, engraved by Neagle.

6th. A view of Vaucluſe, by Brandoin, engraved by Landſeer.

Financial

Financial and Political Facts of the Eighteenth Century; with comparative Eſtimates of the Revenue, Expenditure, Debts, Manufacture, and Commerce of Great Britain. The third Edition. With an Appendix of uſeful and intereſting Documents. The whole reviſed, corrected, and conſiderably enlarged. By John M'Arthur, Eſq. Author of a Treatiſe on Naval Courts Martial. 8vo. Pp. 337. Wright. 1801.

FROM the advertiſement prefixed to the publication before us, it appears that the earlier editions thereof were, from political motives, hurried rather prematurely into the world. "It having been repreſented to the Author, that it was neceſſary to the uſefulneſs of the piece, in its original form, as a pamphlet, that it ſhould appear ſoon after the meeting of the Imperial Parliament, or before the annual diſcuſſion on the ſubject of Finance took place; he was induced to deliver the manuſcript in its then imperfect ſtate; and this may perhaps be received by the indulgent reader as an apology for ſome of the errors in the former editions, moſt of which it is hoped, are corrected in this."

Notwithſtanding the long and expenſive war in which we have been engaged, notwithſtanding the immenſe accumulation of the national debt, and the rapid increaſe of taxes, accompanied by a material advance on the price of proviſions, it is the intention of Mr. M'Arthur to prove, and we ardently congratulate him on his ſucceſs, that the iſland of Great Britain is now, at the commencement of the nineteenth century, in a more flouriſhing ſtate than at any former period. He commences by tracing the increaſe of imports and exports during the eighteenth century, particularly during the preſent war, and contraſting it with the deplorable ſtate of French commerce. From theſe reſearches the following ſtatement is deduced:

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Balance of Trade.
1697	£.3,412,580	3,525,906	43,326
1800	29,945,808	35,900,000	6,044,192

"The *official* value of exports for the year ending the 5th of January, 1801, as laid before Parliament, was, of Britiſh manufactures, to the value of 24,411,067l., and of foreign merchandize, 17,466,145l.; making the enormous total of Britiſh and foreign exports, 41,877,213l.!

"It having been proved, by the operations of the convoy tax, that the *real* value of our exports exceeds in the proportion of 70 per cent. the *official* value, it will be found, by this computation, that the *real* value of our exports laſt year, ending the 5th of January, 1801, amounted to 70,671,262l. including 41,498 813l. the real value of Britiſh manufactures exported. If to this we add the *real* value of imports exceeding 45 millions, the total *real* value of exports and imports will amount to upwards of 115 millions!"

To this glorious ſtatement immediately ſucceeds an account of a "report preſented to the Conſuls of France (May 12, 1801,) relative to the imports and exports for the eighth year of the Republic." By this it appears, that "the total value of imports amounted to 325,116,000 livres, nearly 14 millions ſterling, and the value of ex-

ports amounted to no more than 271,575,000 livres, nearly 11 millions ſterling: hence there is an apparent balance of about three millions ſterling againſt France, which is a demonſtrative proof of the diminution of her wealth, and the ruin of her manufactures."

Mr. M'Arthur next notices the increaſe of revenue in the courſe of a hundred years; and here we perceive, that from Michaelmas, 1700, to Michaelmas, 1701, the ſums paid into the Exchequer were as follow:

"For Cuſtoms	£. 1,539,100
Exciſe	986,004
Hearth-money and Poſt-office, &c.	130,399
Land-tax, 2s. in the pound	835,405
Poll-taxes	14,814
Promiſcuous taxes	249,737
Sundry other receipts	13,916
Total revenue the firſt year of the eighteenth century	3,769,375
The groſs eſtimated receipt of permanent and temporary revenue for the laſt year, ending the 5th of July, 1800	£. 36,728,000
Deduct the eſtimated charges of management, including the expence of collecting the Income Tax	1,779,769
Total net eſtimated receipt for 1800	34,948,231
Total additional net revenue in 100 years	31,178,856"

After having alſo given an abſtract of the ſums iſſued or paid from Michaelmas 1700, to Michaelmas 1701, which amounted to 3,638,586l. Mr. M'Arthur ſays:

"Before I proceed to ſtate the exports and imports at the cloſe of King William's reign, it may not be deemed improper to take a glance at the public revenue for the preceding hundred years. In the year 1600, the laſt year but one of Queen Elizabeth, the whole of the ordinary public revenue amounted to no more than 600,000l. per annum; in 1660, the 12th of Charles II. it amounted to 1,200,000l. conſequently in ſixty years it was doubled. In 1700, forty years after, we find it trebled; or in other words, during the ſeventeenth century, the national burdens were increaſed more than ſix-fold; but during the laſt hundred years, though we perceive with aſtoniſhment that our burdens have increaſed nearly ten-fold, yet it will appear in the courſe of this curſory view of facts, that our exports and imports, trade and manufactures, and conſequently public and private wealth, have alſo increaſed, and kept pace with the taxes impoſed on the nation.

"At the cloſe of King William's reign, (1697), the annual value of exports amounted to £. 3,525,906

And the value of imports to 3,482,580

The balance in our favour amounted to 43,326

"The total value of exports and imports, therefore, amounted to little more than *ſeven* millions.

"But if the exports and imports of the preſent day, as well as the balance of our trade, be taken into the ſcale of compariſon, we ſhall diſcover by

by ſuch comparative truths, the beſt criterion to judge of the capability of this nation to bear its increaſed burdens, as well from the augmented general commerce of the country, as from the exertions and induſtry of the people; all which have at the ſame time given an increaſed vigour and energy to our naval power beyond the example of all former times.

"The total value of the exports of Great Britain for the year, ending the 5th of January, 1800, including no leſs than the value of more than 24 millions in Britiſh manufactures, amounted to £. 35,990,000

"Total value of imports into Great Britain for the year ending the 5th of January, 1800 - - 29,945,808

Amount of exports and imports - - 65,935,808

The balance in our favour - - 6,044,192

"There is included in our exports nearly to the amount of 13 millions per annum, in commodities, the produce of the French Weſt Indies, which is a balance abſolutely turned in our favour ſince the commencement of the war. Hence, although our burdens have progreſſively increaſed nearly in a tenfold proportion ſince the beginning of the eighteenth century, yet it is matter of juſt exultation to reflect on the glorious pitch of proſperity and greatneſs, to which, from the above ſtatement, it appears our commerce has, in the ſame time, been raiſed; while the inland trade connected with it, has been augmented in a ſtill greater proportion, together with the circulating medium of the nation.

"It is no leſs curious than intereſting to obſerve, that in every war ſince the revolution, (except the preſent and the war of 1756,) our exports, compared with an equal number of years in the preceding peace, were always conſiderably diminiſhed; but that ſoon after the return of peace the value of exports roſe beyond their former level."

We doubt not that our commercial readers are already convinced, that the latter obſervation will prove true in relation to the war which is juſt terminated.

"Another criterion," ſays our author, "of the wealth and proſperity of a nation, is the lowneſs of intereſt and augmented value of land. In France, at the preſent moment, 1801, money produces at leaſt 12 per cent. intereſt, and landed property is only valued from fourteen to fifteen years' purchaſe. In this country, about an hundred years ago, intereſt was from eight to nine per cent. and landed property from fifteen to eighteen years' purchaſe. But, now, as exemplified by the loan of laſt year, Government may raiſe money under five per cent. and landed property is valued from twenty-eight to thirty years' purchaſe. Lowneſs of intereſt, as Mr. Hume obſerves, proceeds from three circumſtances, viz. the ſmall demand for borrowing, great riches to ſupply that demand, and ſmall profits ariſing from commerce. Theſe circumſtances are all connected together, and proceed from the increaſe of induſtry and trade, not of gold and ſilver. Lowneſs of intereſt, therefore, we find, raiſes the value of land, and the contrary in an inverſe ratio.

"The value of land has progreſſively increaſed, in conſequence of improvements in agriculture, lowneſs of intereſt, and the increaſed conſumption of the produce of the land. Before England became a trading nation, we find the general price of land to have been twelve years' purchaſe; and we ſee it is little more at the preſent day in France, ſince her trade has been almoſt annihilated. In the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, land ſold

in England from fourteen to ſixteen years' purchaſe, and at the commencement of the eighteenth century, it had advanced to about eighteen years' purchaſe; in half a century more it roſe to about twenty-four years' purchaſe; and at preſent, as we have already obſerved, it is generally valued from twenty-eight to thirty years' purchaſe.

"The value of land has increaſed in ſome parts of Scotland, in a ſtill greater proportion. It is not unfrequent in this part of the United Kingdom, more eſpecially in the Highlands, to have eſtates ſold at forty years' purchaſe. The valued rent of the county of Argyle, in the year 1757, was only 12,466l. but the real value, in 1795, was 112,752l. having, in leſs than forty years, increaſed nine-fold.

"This increaſe of the number of years' purchaſe of land, is the beſt and moſt obvious proof of its augmented value, and is the effect of lowneſs of intereſt and the increaſed conſumption of its produce, combined with the general trade of the nation."

After the above follows a ſtatement of the general rental of England, and the total wealth of the nation, conſiſting of lands, houſes, ſhipping, gold and ſilver coin,, wares, merchandize, plate, furniture, &c. at different periods from 1600. Immediately ſubſequent to this, Mr. M'Arthur ſays:

"In comparing the rental and value of landed property at preſent, with the eſtimate made by D'Avenant one hundred years ago, we ſhall find, by a ſimple calculation, that valuing our preſent landed property, incumbered with tithes, at twenty-eight years' purchaſe, the annual rental correſponding to *one thouſand two hundred and fifty millions*, will amount to upwards of *forty-four millions and a half*, which proves an increaſed rental of *thirty millions* per annum.

"In comparing the preſent valued amount with that eſtimated by D'Avenant, we ſhall find, that in the eighteenth century it has increaſed eight-fold.

"Hence it appears, that ſince Sir William Petty's computation, 130 years ago, the national wealth of Great Britain has increaſed in the immenſe ſum of *two thouſand four hundred and fifty millions*; and the annual intereſt of the ſaid increaſe of wealth amounts to upwards of *one hundred and twenty-ſeven millions five hundred thouſand ſterling*. If, therefore, we allow 15 per cent. for the annual profits or produce of ſuch increaſe of wealth, it will amount to upwards of *three hundred and eighty-two millions five hundred thouſand ſterling* additional income, in leſs than 150 years, being an increaſe at the rate of *two thouſand five hundred and fifty millions* ſterling per annum of general income."

As the annual profits of the Poſt-office form ſo material a branch of the public revenue, we truſt that our readers will be pleaſed with the following brief ſtatement:

"At the beginning of the eighteenth century, it (the Poſt-office) produced of net revenue about 58,672l. the average net revenue for four years, from 1702 to 1706, was 61,568l. and for the year, ending the 5th of April, 1800, the groſs revenue was 1,078,420l. and the net 717,335l. In theſe laſt twelve years the net revenue has been nearly trebled, ſince, for the

year

year ending the 5th of April, 1788, it produced 294,792l. but it now produces more than ſeven hundred thouſand pounds."

The expences of management in the Poſt-office are, of late years, proportionally much leſs than formerly. In 1722 they "appear to be 51 and a fraction per cent; in 1788, at the rate of 43 and a fraction per cent.; and in 1800, at the rate of little more than 33 per cent."

The ſtamp duties have increaſed in the courſe of one hundred years, in a twenty-five fold degree. In the beginning of the eighteenth century they produced only about 70,000l. but in the year ending February, 1801, they produced upwards of two millions.

Among the improvements of revenue, and extenſion of the benefits of charitable inſtitutions, Mr. M'Arthur particularly notices thoſe of Greenwich Hoſpital, and the Cheſt at Chatham. The number of ſeamen provided for by Greenwich Hoſpital, which was founded by King William and Queen Mary, in 1694, has gradually increaſed:

"In 1708, there were only 300 ſeamen on the eſtabliſhment; in 1728, there were 450; in 1738, 1000; in 1751, there were 1300; in 1782, 2300; which, with 140 nurſes, and 150 boys, (the ſons of ſeamen, who are educated for the ſea ſervice,) in the preſent eſtabliſhment, together with about 2000 out-penſioners, make a total of 4640 perſons."

"The total revenue of Greenwich Hoſpital for the year 1787, was 59,043l. For the year 1797, the total receipt amounted to 85,840l. The total expenditure for the ſame year was 85,875l. For the year 1800, the total revenue was 133,581l. and the total expenditure 100,936l. Thus we ſee, that in ten years the revenue has been increaſed by 26,832l. and in twenty three years it has been more than doubled; and the revenue of laſt year exceeds the expenditure by 32,645l. which is more than half the total amount of revenue twenty-three years ago.

The Cheſt at Chatham was eſtabliſhed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1588.) In nine years, viz. from 1788 to 1797, the revenue thereof has acquired an annual increaſe of nearly ſeven-fold.

After various obſervations on different heads of public expenditure, Mr. M'Arthur obſerves, that

"There is, however, one head of expenditure, namely, his Majeſty's Civil Liſt, for the ſupport and dignity of the Crown and Royal Family, which claims the moſt candid attention, as having been, at different periods, but without good reaſon, cenſoriouſly animadverted upon.

"The Civil Liſt of 900,000l, as now ſettled upon his Majeſty, is divided into eight diſtinct claſſes, viz. 1. The royal family. 2. The judges' ſalaries, &c. 3. The ſalaries and appointments of foreign miniſters, 4. Tradeſmen of the houſehold. 5. Menial ſervants. 6. Penſions. 7. Salaries of different officers. 8. Salaries of the commiſſioners of the treaſury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer; beſides ſundry occaſional payments, ſuch as ſecret ſervice money, compenſations, gratuities, ſheriffs for the conviction of felonies, &c.

"In comparing the Civil Liſt of former times with the preſent, and tracing its progreſs with the alterations in the value of money, and riſe in

the price of commodities, the result will be, that it is proportionally less now than in former times.

" Soon after the revolution, the Civil List revenue was settled (though not so regularly classed as at present) on King William and Queen Mary, amounting, with the hereditary duties, to 700,000l. per annum. In 1691, the sum of 856,123 was applied to the support of the civil establishment. The nominal sum of 700,000l. was, however, continued to Queen Anne and George I. and additional sums were frequently voted by parliament. The Civil List settled on George II. was augmented nominally to 800,000, but in fact was considerably more, as in some years it amounted to one million. His present Majesty, soon after his accession to the throne, spontaneously signified his consent that his own hereditary revenue might be disposed of as might best conduce to the benefit of the public, and in lieu thereof, accepted the limited sum of 800,000l. per annum for the support of the Civil List, including the annuity of 120,000l. for the support of his Majesty's household.

" The sums allotted for this branch of the Civil List at different periods have been as follows: the household expences of King James the Second in 1687, 90,455l. The sum allotted to King William and Queen Mary (1692) 114,685l. The sum allowed for the household expences of Queen Anne at the medium of two years, from 1703 to 1705, 83,710l. The sum granted to King George the First, on the average of nine years, from 1715 to 1724 was at the rate of 80,000l. per annum. King George the Second had, from 1730 to 1731, the sum of 118,487l. and in the year 1732, 124,806l.; but in 1759, it was reduced to 108,290l. At the accession of his present Majesty, a considerable reduction was made in the household expences. An increase attended the increase of the royal family, but it was again reduced in 1782.

" The sum of 800,000l. first settled on his Majesty for his Civil List, in lieu of the whole hereditary revenue, being found insufficient, it was increased to 900,000l. of which 898,000l. is paid out of the consolidated fund, and the remaining 2,000l. is paid out of the alienation office into the hanaper in chancery."

From the above, and other remarks, Mr. M'Arthur clearly proves,—

" That the relinquishment of the hereditary revenue of the Crown has been greatly to the advantage of the public, and has kept pace in its progress with the improvements of the other branches of the revenue, and the general wealth and prosperity of the nation."

Our readers must not suppose, from the length of this article, that we have extracted the complete essence of Mr. M'Arthur's publication; on the contrary, we assure them that they will derive ample information, of the most gratifying nature, from a perusal of the work itself. We should not, indeed, have so far extended our review of this performance; but that, influenced by the same principle which has influenced its author; exulting in the riches, the resources, the honour, and the glory of our country, we wished to render them as public as possible; and, on this plea, we doubt not of experiencing

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the entire approbation of Mr M'A. and every well-affected individual in the nation. In this volume are many uſeful and inſtructive obſervations on the accumulation, decreaſe, and redemption of the national debt. The author controverts, and completely refutes the ſtupid aſſertions, and no leſs ſtupid arguments, of many ignorant, prejudiced, and intereſted perſons, who have contended that the war, and the increaſed circulation of national bank notes, are the cauſes of the dearneſs of proviſions, &c. He dwells with pleaſure on the augmentation of our naval power, and the increaſed tonnage of our merchantmen; and expoſes the ambitious views of Buonaparte, relative to the free navigation of the Meuſe, Scheldt, &c. &c. at the commencement of peace. He points out the utility and neceſſity of extended incloſures for the culture of corn; and lays down a practicable plan for ſaving 750,000l. per annum in the keep of horſes, without the ſlighteſt detriment to thoſe uſeful animals. Mr. M'Arthur alſo offers ſeveral judicious ſuggeſtions and arguments on the tea and coffee duties; on the manufacture of ſalt, and the oppreſſive taxes levied on that uſeful and neceſſary article; and, after many excellent remarks on the income tax, and a propoſed modification thereof, he ſays:

"Although the writer may excite the ſneer of ſome critics, he will hazard an opinion, that he believes it would be congenial to the feelings of the majority of wealthy merchants in England, to contribute *one fifth* of their incomes for the enjoyment and protection of the remainder, and for the proſecution of the war in which we are involved, *rather than ſubmit to* humiliating or inſecure terms of peace."

We ſincerely wiſh that ſome other characters had evinced as praiſeworthy a ſpirit of national honour; we might then have inſured—what our preſent miniſters ſeem to have diſregarded, as beneath their notice—INDEMNITY FOR THE PAST, AND SECURITY FOR THE FUTURE!

We admire, applaud, and cheriſh the national ſpirit, and enthuſiaſtic love of the country, which our author, throughout his work, ſeems ſo anxious to promote; and cannot, in this place, refrain from quoting an extremely beautiful, and applicable paſſage on the ſubject from one of Burns's poems.

"—— A wiſh (I mind its power)
A wiſh, that to my lateſt hour
Shall ſtrongly heave my breaſt;
That I for poor auld Scotland's ſake
Some uſeful plan, or book could make,
Or ſing a ſang at leaſt.

"The rough bur-thiſtle ſpreading wide
Among the bearded bear,
I turn'd my weeding heuk aſide,
An' ſpar'd the ſymbol dear."

We conclude this article with obſerving, that the performance before us muſt be peruſed with heart felt ſatisfaction, by every individual deſerving the appellation of Briton; by every individual who is not dead to all ſenſe of the *amor patriæ*; by every individual who ſighs not for the extinction of the happineſs, the proſperity, the honour, the glory of his country!

A Survey of the Strength and Opulence of Great Britain; wherein is ſhewn, the Progreſs of its Commerce, Agriculture, Population, &c. before and ſince the Acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover. By the Rev. Dr. Clarke, Secretary for the Library, &c. to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales. With Obſervations by Dean Tucker, and David Hume, Eſq. in a Correſpondence with Lord Kaimes; now firſt publiſhed. 8vo. Pp. 240. Cadell and Davies. 1801.

THE preſent publication of Dr. Clarke, comprizes an hiſtorical account of the riſe, progreſs, and effects of commerce in Britain; the hiſtory of her revenues, finances, foreign and domeſtic trade, agricultural regulations, waſte lands, naval and military powers, &c. with the progreſs and ſtate of population in Great Britain and Europe. All that ardently enthuſiaſtic love of his country which characterizes Mr. M'Arthur's performance, exhibits itſelf with equal force in Dr. Clarke's; but, in other reſpects, the intrinſic merit of the latter falls far beneath that of the former. The earlier parts of the volume before us are frequently pert and flippant; and we cannot here omit to reprove the very weak and ſuperficial, not to ſay ſilly, arguments, which Dr. C. advances on the taxation of the poor.

Dr. Clarke, indeed, tells us, that ſuch things are; but he does not inform us how or why they are: whereas Mr. M'Arthur traces ſubjects to their origin and firſt principles, and preſents occular demonſtration of what he aſſerts.

The latter parts of this work, however, as they are more plainly demonſtrative, and as they evince a greater depth of reſearch, are infinitely more valuable.

Speaking of the balance of power, and the increaſed naval ſtrength of Britain, Dr. Clarke ſays:

An anxiety to preſerve this balance is obviouſly conſiſtent with the common ſenſe of all ages, and the common good of all nations. But I repeat it, that in no period, and in no country more than in Europe at this day, has there been a louder appeal, made to the intereſts and judgment of mankind for the preſervation of this balance. And in conformity to its views, it is thought, by ſome, that *Britain never can, and never ought, to accede to any peace which adds the Netherlands either to the territory or to the power of France.*

"This principle may have been carried to an exceſs by Britain in former moments, amidſt the ardour of emulation. It has, however, contributed to create a formidable engine againſt our foes, and a bulwark for Britain and her allies. The progreſſive augmentation of its royal navy may be

ſhortly

ſhortly ſtated as follows. It forms no uncertain ſtandard of the growing ſtrength and preſent condition of Great Britain.

	Tons.	Men.
"The fleet of Elizabeth ſent againſt the Spaniſh armada, 1588 - - -	31,985	15,272
"On the acceſſion of William, 1688 - -	101,032	
"Two years after the acceſſion of Queen Anne, 1704 - - - -	104,754	41,000
"On the acceſſion of George II. 1727 -	170,862	
"On the acceſſion of George III. 1760 -	300,416	
"In 1800 - - -	790,950	120,000
"Augmented during his Majeſty's reign, -	490,534 tons	

"Thus we perceive that the navy has increaſed above its ſtrength, at that glorious epoch of the invincible armada, as from about 31,000 to about 790,000 tons; and it has increaſed within this century, or *ſince* the time of the revolution, as from 101,000 to 790,000: and it has increaſed ſince the acceſſion of his Majeſty, or in about *forty* years, above 220,000 tons *more* than it had done during nearly *two centuries* before.

"Such is its relative ſtate compared with itſelf: now let us ſee its relative ſtate compared with that of France.

"It appears by a comparative liſt laid before the Houſe of Commons in 1693, that the Engliſh and French fleets were nearly equal, the difference in the total number being but 16 in favour of the Engliſh. Whereas by the French liſt, and probably an exaggerated one, publiſhed in 1799, their fleet conſiſted of 48 ſhips of the line, and 335 frigates, gallies, ſtore-ſhips, gun-boats, gun-pinnaces, and, in fine, every ſpecies of ſmall warlike craft, which altogether make a total of 383; and at the ſame period our ſhips of the line, frigates, and ſloops, alone amounted in number to 792. Here we have more than *double* their number, according to appearance; and in reality we have much more, were we to limit their enumeration of veſſels to ſhips of the line, fifties, frigates, and ſloops. But were we to ſtate our whole naval ſtrength, as the French have ſtated theirs, which, as we have ſeen, conſiſts of 383 veſſels of war, in like manner ours amount to 1,002 veſſels, carrying 33,273 guns, and meaſuring 790,950 tons: and it may not be ungrateful to add, that 1,303 prizes have been taken during the war.

"Statement of the Naval Strength of Great Britain.

	No. of ſhips.	guns.	tonnage.	
"In commiſſion	660	26,766	660,550	
Armed cutters, &c.	235	2,195	29,400	
In ordinary, building, repairing,	103	4,156	97,050	
Total - -	998	33,117	787,000	
Dutch ſhips in the ſervice of G. Britain	4	156	3,950	under-rated.
Grand total -	1,002	33,273	790,950	
Total of prizes during the war, to December, 1800			1,303."	

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The progreſs of the military ſtrength of Great Britain is equally ſatisfactory; and, were it not for the enlarged ſpace which it would occupy, we ſhould willingly gratify our readers by extracting a table which exhibits, at a ſingle *coup d'œil*, a comparative view of the principal States of Europe, with reſpect to their ſize, population, revenues, military and naval power. This comparative view muſt be grateful to the feelings of every Briton.

Under the heads, agriculture, regulations, waſte lands, and conſiderations on the high price of proviſions, Dr. Clarke's reaſonings on the neceſſity of inclotures, and the advantages to be derived therefrom, are excellent, and well merit the ſerious attention of the legiſlature, and the public at large.

We ſhall conclude theſe brief remarks, by recommending the work to the attention of the public, and by joining in the following exclamation of the author;

"Had the ſpirit of independent truth guided and animated the writings of modern days, for the ſword yields to the pre-eminence of the pen even in the province of deſtruction, we ſhould not now be ſurrounded by the ruins of thrones and altars, hear the fall of ſtates, nor have ſeen a bleeding world amidſt the pangs of an expiring age. Who that has witneſſed theſe things, muſt not be impelled by an inſtinctive principle to examine well the public condition, wherein is contained his own individual condition? Who will not inform himſelf, therefore, not incautiouſly nor erroneouſly, but according to authentic evidence and facts, on the ſtate of his country? Thus alone we ſhall be enabled to ſhew to the miſguided Anti-Unioniſts of Ireland, with what an opulent and powerful nation they ſtill murmur to unite; to the Jacobins, againſt what a mighty ſtream their corrupt bark has to ſtruggle; and to the enemies of this United Kingdom, that her reſources and her ſtrength bid her defy the world!"

LAW.

Enquiries into the Nature of Leaſehold Property; in which the relative Situations of Leſſor and Leſſee, Landlord and Tenant are fairly conſidered. By a Gentleman of the Temple. 8vo. Pp. 62. 1s. 6d. Bickerſtaff. 1801.

THE reader muſt not here expect to find a minute and particular detail of the relative rights and duties of Landlord and Tenant; but merely a ſenſible and judicious expoſition of the legal principle which governs both. The author contends, and with great ſhew of reaſon, for the neceſſity of giving to Leſſees a more fixed, ſtable, ſubſtantial, and permanent property, than they at preſent poſſeſs, in the lands which they hold; and he ſtrongly reprobates the too-prevalent practice of entirely refuſing to grant Leaſes of land. He conſiders this queſtion, connected with that of the enlargement of farms, in its effect on population and produce; but, we muſt obſerve to him, that he has conſidered only *one ſide*; though he be certainly too intelligent not

to know that a great deal may be ſaid on the other. He almoſt wholly imputes the late exceſſive dearneſs of proviſions to the rapacity of Landlords diſplayed in raiſing their rents; this ſpirit, engendered by luxury and diſſipation which threaten to produce a total change in the habits and character of the nation, may indeed have been evinced, in ſome ſolitary inſtances; but it is too notorious to be denied, that the riſe which has taken place (though only partially be it obſerved) has, in ninety caſes in every hundred, been owing to the rapaciouſneſs of the farmer, which has impoſed a neceſſity on the Land-owner to exact a greater rent in order to maintain the ſame ſtation in life which he has ever been accuſtomed to hold, while the tenant has, frequently, realized in the ſhort ſpace of two years, a ſufficient capital to purchaſe the fee-ſimple of his farm.

The remarks of this writer on the ignorance and incapacity of moſt of thoſe Surveyors and Valuers of land, who are now ſo regularly employed by the Land-owners, for no other purpoſe than to afford a pretext for enlarging his income, are pertinent and juſt; and, unleſs this practice be ſpeedily checked the worſt conſequences to the country may reaſonably be expected to reſult from it. On the whole, this tract is evidently the production of a mind accuſtomed to reflection, and capable of diſcrimination; and it may be read with pleaſure and advantage.

A View of the principal Parts of the moſt important Statutes relating to Game, with explanatory Caſes and Obſervations. 8vo. Pp. 132. 3s. Lackington and Co. London. 1801.

AN abridged abridgment of the Game Laws, from Burn, Blackſtone and Co, not uſeleſs to qualified ſportſmen, but ſtill more uſeful to thoſe who have no other qualification than an annual licence.

The Modern Practice of levying Fines and ſuffering Revenues, in the Courts of Common Pleas at Weſtminſter. With an Appendix of Select Precedents. By. W. Hands, Gent. One of the Attornies of the Court. Pp. 158. 4s. 6d. Butterworth. London. 1800.

THE title of this book ſufficiently explains its object and intent; and it only remains for us to obſerve that Mr. Hands has, in this inſtance, rendered a very uſeful and acceptable ſervice to his brethren of the law.

MEDICINE, &c.

Inſtructions relative to Self-preſervation during the Prevalence of contagious Diſeaſes. 8vo. Pp. 14. 6d. Seely. 1801.

DR. HAYGARTH has treated this ſubject much more at large than the writer of this ſmall tract; which, however, is more, comparatively, uſeful, from the facility with which it may be obtained; and the ſubject is certainly one of the utmoſt importance. The rules here laid down for the avoidance of contagion, are plain, perſpicuous, and eaſy of obſervance; and cannot, therefore, be too generally known.

An Introduction to a Course of Lectures on the Operations of Surgery. By Thomas Chevalier, M. A. Fellow of the Linnæan Society. 8vo. Pp. 58. 1s. 6d. Callow. 1801.

THIS Introduction is, almost necessarily, confined to an indication of the line of study which the Surgical student should adopt; and to a specification of those qualities which are essential to enable him to become a skilful operator. The admonitions are excellent; and the remarks highly judicious.

Practical Observations on the Nature and Treatment of some exasperated Symptoms attending the Venereal Disease. By Edward Geoghegan, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. 12mo. Pp. 76. 3s.

THE symptoms to which Mr. Geoghegan principally directs the attention of his reader, that is to say, as immediately attending the Venereal Disease, are the Phymosis and Paraphymosis, which, in the year 1799, prevailed in a very unusual degree, both as to frequency and virulence. He recommends that until the strong inflammation which characterize these symptoms shall have subsided, mercury shall not be used; on account of its tendency to increase inflammation. But this is so obvious a fact, that, we apprehend, it cannot have escaped the observation of any practitioner. His observations on Typhus, though not new, are entitled to attention.

POETRY.

A Translation of the Eighth Satire of Boileau on Man; written in the Year 1667, and addressed to M. Morel, Doctor of Sorbonne. 8vo. Pr. 32. Philips. London. 1801.

THE translator of this satire seems to have more judgment as to the theory of translation than skill as to the practice. Under the notion of a free translation, we have seen many works that give but a faint representation of the original. We know, however, that it is possible to be too servile in following the steps of original writers, and that too rigid a fidelity is likely to be tasteless, harsh, and heavy. In the present instance, BOILEAU's thoughts are indeed given, but not his spirit, strength, and humour. Our readers hardly wish for an extract, when they hear that our translator uses the following words, as *rhymes—enured, heard*; *japan, bantam*; *pray, Asia*; *confine, time*; *police, justice*; *surety, equity*; *universities, faculties*; *divine, Calvin*; and many other equally indicative of a *musical ear*.

The Free School, a Poem, Second Edition; to which is added, an Elegy on the Death of Edmund Jenny, Esq. of Bredfield; and of Philip Bowes Brooke, Esq. of Nacton. The former of whom died, after a severe Illness, on the Twenty-second of August, 1801; and the latter, suddenly, on the Day following. By the Rev. John Black. Pp. 24. 8vo. Price 1s. Robinsons. London.

WE have in vain looked over this poem in order to find some passage in it, which might justify its title; but it seems to have no more connection with

with a Free School than " a camel, a weazel, or a whale." The author gives an account of the vagaries of fancy, and in one reſpect he has proved himſelf a votary of that fugitive goddeſs; for under her influence he has certainly forſaken what might be expected to engage the attention of his muſe.

The following lines will ſerve as a ſpecimen of the author's poetical talents, and we aſſure our readers that they have full as much connection with the title of the work as any other we could have extracted.

" Here, while the ſwallows ſkim in air,
The thruſh and blackbird oft repair;
And while the cuckoo, more remote,
Repeats her ſtill unvaried note,
From yonder ſhrubs, my garden's bound,
Their ſweet and mellow tones reſound:
Sweet Philomel too warbles here,
And lulls to reſt my raptur'd ear."

The Canonization of Thomas —— Eſq. who has lately erected at Eaſt L——H Dorſet, a Monaſtery, and therein eſtabliſhed a body of Monks. The Stanzas by Sternold and Hopkins, Poets Laureate to the Monaſtery. The Notes by Addiſon, Archbiſhop Tillotſon, Hume, Duigenan, Rennel, Biſhop Newton, Voltaire, Biſhop Sherlock, and Judge Blackſtone. 8vo. Pr. 56. 2s. 6d. Kirby. London. 1801.

THE prodigious number of Papiſts in this country, occaſioned by the emigration from France, and the indulgent acquieſcence of the Britiſh Legiſlature, under the impolitic notion of *enlightened toleration*, has been viewed with jealouſy and alarm by the friends of our happy Conſtitution in Church and State; a jealouſy which every Briton ought to feel, when he thinks the glorious ſyſtem delivered down to us by the wiſdom and virtue of his anceſtors, is expoſed to the leaſt danger, and an alarm which the prevalence of popery, and the proſelyting zeal of its diſciples will ſufficiently juſtify. The poem before us, which, though written in the humble ſtyle of Sternhold and Hopkins, is by no means deſtitute of humour; and which denotes powers that might take a higher flight when occaſion may require, is founded upon the erection of a building in this country ſimilar to thoſe which it was the purpoſe of the reformation to deſtroy. Thoſe who are aware of the artifice, diligence, and bigotry of the Catholic Prieſthood, muſt look, with concern, as well as ſurpriſe, on ſtructures of ſuch a kind. We know nothing about the monaſtery in particular to which this pamphlet relates, though we have heard of many others of the ſame deſcription. Now that our readers are in a great meaſure releaſed from the agitation and labour which attends a time of war, we hope that the ſtate of Popery in this country will attract their attention. We ſhall merely extract the preface to this poem, though we doubt not that the compoſition itſelf, and the annotations, would afford ſatisfaction and amuſement to our readers.

" The monaſtery alluded to in the following lines, is a large pile of brick building, erected at great expence, on the ſouthern coaſt. It has a chapel, cloiſters, dormitory, images, and all the uſual aparatus of popiſh ſuperſtition. The chapel, which is elegantly neat, is furniſhed with ſeats for about forty monks; of which number, between twenty and thirty, are already aſſembled. Walls, incloſing about an acre, encompaſs the edifice:

round

round theſe, a large allotment of land, amounting to ſeveral acres, is fenced in for the uſe of the monks, who often appear there in the habit of their order.

"The number of perſons at this place, who within theſe few years, have embraced the Romiſh faith, is very conſiderable: the contagion has ſpread, and is ſpreading, into the neighbouring villages.

"The Court of Rome, ever intent on the beſt means of extending its influence, has always zealouſly promoted the eſtabliſhment of monaſteries: on theſe it has relied, not merely for the gaining of converts, but for the acquiſition even of territory.

"Judge Blackſtone ſpeaks upon this ſubject in the following words; book 4, chapter 8.

"Another engine ſet on foot, or at leaſt greatly improved, by the Court of Rome, was a maſter-piece of papal policy, &c. they endeavoured to graſp at the lands and inheritance of the kingdom, &c. to this end they introduced the monks of the benedictine and other rules, men of ſour and auſtere religion, ſeparated from the world and its concerns by a vow of perpetual celibacy, yet faſcinating the minds of the people by pretences to extraordinary ſanctity, while all their aim was to aggrandize the power, and extend the influence of their grand ſuperior the Pope."

For further obſervations on this ſubject the reader is referred to the notes.

MISCELLANIES.

Eſſays, Moral, Economical, and Political. By Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viſcount St. Alban's, and Lord High Chancellor of England. 8vo. Pp. 272. 6s. 6d. Jones. London.

THE eſſays of the great Lord Bacon are ſo well known, and as the wiſe author ſays, "come home to men's buſineſs and boſoms," ſo fully that all we have to ſay upon the preſent work is, that it is a very neat edition of what every man ſhould poſſeſs. There is more moral wiſdom and more knowledge of life in this little volume, than in any other work of the ſame ſize that mere human powers have ever compoſed. This edition contains a ſketch of the author's life, but not "the colours of good and evil, the wiſdom of the ancients, and the characters that uſually accompany theſe eſſays." The latter, however, are chiefly valuable, and the public have here a *vade mecum* of uſeful knowledge.

A Letter to the Honourable Colonel George Hanger. From an Attorney at Law. 8vo. Pp. 53. 1s. 6d. Debrett. London. 1801.

THE peruſal of this letter has excited in our minds the ſame degree of ſurprize as we ſhould experience at ſeeing a formidable army employed in making regular approaches to an open place occupied by an enemy who had not the ſmalleſt means of defence. The deſire to vindicate an honourable profeſſion from the ſlanderous aſperſions of any individual, however ſhallow or incompetent, ſprings from too laudable a ſource not to enſure reſpect; but ſurely ſuch a ſyſtematic expoſure of ignorance, where ignorance was ſo groſs as to be incapable of impoſing even on the moſt ignorant; ſuch a ſerious train of argumentation in oppoſition to ſophiſtry ſo flimſy and ſo futile that a child might detect, and a mere Tyro in controverſy confute, it; was perfectly needleſs. Still we reſpect the author's motive, and cannot but commend his very

very ſpirited and ſucceſsful attempt. Nor is his candour inferior to his ſpirit, as the following very proper conceſſion will ſufficiently evince.

"I follow, with equal pleaſure, your obſervations on the practice of multiplying actions on a ſingle bill of exchange. It cannot be denied that this and other practices throw a ſhade on the profeſſion, which the ſneer of malignity and the flippancy of ignorance buſily, but vainly, contend to deepen, and ſpread over the whole of its profeſſors. The prevalent cuſtom of daſhing at the whole covey, by inſtituting ſo many ſeparate actions againſt the drawer, acceptor and every indorſer of a bill of exchange, not paid on its becoming due, is a cuſtom 'more honoured in the breach than the obſervance;' yet may ſometimes be really neceſſary, when the reſponſibility of the parties is doubtful, for the chance of procuring payment from ſome one, or other, of them. But, ſuch a multiplication of ſuits, when the object of payment can be attained without it, is a very diſgraceful proceeding, and I have never failed to reprobate the practitioners, ſome even of decent reputation, who are guilty of it. The cant of practice is that an attorney is bound to avail himſelf of every legal means of enforcing the payment, and that, in the event of ultimate failure in thoſe actually reſorted to, if any were omitted, he would not be juſtified to his client, the holder of the bill. But, in mercy and in conſcience, it certainly behoves him in every caſe to conſult his client in the firſt inſtance, and take his particular inſtructions againſt which of the parties to proceed; and more eſpecially when the amount of the bill is ſmall, and the parties liable, are not in circumſtances plainly deſperate.

"Had your ſtrictures on our profeſſional mal-practices been all equally well-founded, though you had ſet every thing down in malice, I would not have come forward to extenuate any thing. I ſhrink not from the truth; but prefer the whole truth to any partial view of that divine maid, whoſe charms, we are told, you have never preſumed to violate; but with whoſe perſon you have certainly taken ſome unbecoming liberties, as will, I truſt, be manifeſt in the ſequel."

If the author's *parting words* produce no effect on the mind to which they are addreſſed, we can only ſay that every religious and moral principle muſt have been eradicated from it.

"One word at parting, Sir! on another ſubject, which may deſerve your regard hereafter. You have appealed to the prelates and legiſlators of the land againſt ſome crying offences, which taint our moral atmoſphere, and have urged, with becoming ardour, the purification of it, by wholeſome and appropriate laws. There is, however, one prevailing ſin of which you appear unconſcious, and indeed you were not likely in the courſe of your evangelical ſtudies to receive any intimation of its exiſtence. In a future edition, or in the third volume, of your work, you may, with the ſame energy and indiſputable effect with which you have already pleaded the cauſe of good morals, advocate its guardians, and be the honoured inſtrument of ſuppreſſing this hideous nuiſance, againſt which all the feelings of a man and all the ſentiments of a gentleman revolt.

"It is my deep conviction that the worſt man who ever diſgraced, and *only talked* and acted on, the earth, could not, in the moſt abandoned and flagitious courſe of the longeſt life, accumulate ſins to anſwer for, equal in their aggregate to that of committing a ſingle licentious or immoral ſentence to the preſs. All other offences and diſorders which an individual has the will or the means to perpetrate are, comparatively, venial; they have a boundary and limitation with the life of man; and are confined to his own

contami-

contaminated circle, or to the influence of his own particular example. But, this takes a range that no human mind can foreſee, or calculate, or graſp even in idea. It may traverſe continents, debaſing and corrupting the ingenuous mind of youth, diſſeminating vicious principles, and ſcattering its baneful effects on the faireſt portions of the globe; may corrupt generations yet unborn, and be doing progreſſive miſchief in ſociety till time ſhall be no more. It is an act of ſuch moral turpitude, as a life ſpent in charity and good deeds cannot cleanſe or atone; for it is a deadly blow at the virtuous propenſities of man, which is repeated with every tranſcript and copy in circulation. It cannot be cured by recantation, recalled by penitence, or mitigated by volumes of a contrary tendency. It is a new contagion, tranſmiſſible from age to age,—and the guilt of ſhedding ſuch a peſtilence is enhanced by the deliberation with which it is committed. When the author of ſuch a crime appears at his final audit, we may conceive, without a preſumptuous anticipation, that, inſtead of the ordinary queſtion 'What evil hath he done?' the more awful enquiry will be inſtituted, 'What evil hath he *not* done?' And imagination cannot picture any ſuch horror, as would ſeize the mind, labouring under the dreadful uncertainty infuſed into it by ſuch a queſtion.

"Let us be very ſerious on a ſubject ſo important. When men are guilty of this offence in light and fugitive publications, of a claſs purely ephemeral, and ſinking into early oblivion, no man of ſenſe, of feeling, or of conſcience, will be found to juſtify it; but it is then moſt alarming, and aggravated to its height, when ſuch vicious ribaldry as the proficient in Joe Miller would turn from with diſguſt, and ſuch obſcene alluſions as no decent woman can read without comprehending, or comprehend without bluſhing, are ſcattered through a work, deſtined to aſſume its place in our libraries with Cæſar, with Plutarch and Quintus Curtius, and to deſcend with thoſe immortal writers to poſterity!"

Theſe ſentiments reflect great credit on the author; and if his practice be correſpondent to his principles, he muſt be an honour to his profeſſion.

Who are the Swindlers? A Query. By Miſs Robertſon of Blackheath. Second Edition, wth Additions. 8vo. Pp. 48. Price 1s. 6d. Jordan. London.

THE public are ſo well acquainted with the memorable tranſactions of *the lady* who is the author of this work, that we need not dilate upon the ſubject. This pamphlet, however, ſeems to throw a new light on that ſubject, for the heroine, judging from her *literary effuſions*, appears to be rather fit for a certain habitation in the neighbourhood of *Moorfields*, than for a place intended for legal puniſhment. The people alſo, who ſuffered by her miſchievous freaks, ſeem qualified for a place in the ſame habitation as they muſt have been as wild as herſelf, or blinded indeed by the ſpirit of avarice when they could venture to give ſuch ruinous credit to a woman whoſe *mind* is ſo evidently marked by *extravagance*.

The Adventures of Kamoula, the lovely Arabian: or, a Vindication of the Ways of Providence, exemplified in the Triumph of Virtue and Innocence over Corruption, Perjury, and Malice. 12mo. Pp. 156. 1s. 6d. Lackington. London. 1801.

"THE *hiſtory* from which the following Adventures were compiled *were* in a great meaſure taken from an old French novel. *They* are ſo replete with morality, and rich in intereſting events, that no apology need be made for giving *it* an Engliſh dreſs." So much for *ſenſe* and *grammar*. Books which

are

are intended for the peruſal of children ſhould always be carefully examined by the parents or inſtructors of children before they are placed in their hands. Should the preſent perſormance be ſubmitted to this ordeal, we truſt that we have but little to fear from the ſuperſtitious, and almoſt blaſphemous, principles which its illiterate and barbarous phraſeology inculcates: it will be ſilently condemned to the oblivion which it merits.

The Amiable Tutoreſs: or, The Hiſtory of Mary and Jane Hornſby. A Tale for young Perſons. Small 12mo. Pp. 169. 2s. Hurſt. London. 1801.

FROM "The Adventures of Kamoula," we turn with pleaſure to this ſenſible and intereſting little Tale. Its moral is excellent and unexceptionable; it abounds with incidents happily conceived, and judiciouſly arranged; and, though it is chiefly intended for young perſons, it may be read with pleaſure, and even advantage, by many adults whoſe attention is occupied with the inſtruction of the riſing generation. The only fault which it preſents is a negligence in point of grammatical accuracy: but this reduces not its intrinſic moral worth, and it receives our ſincere approbation.

REVIEWERS REVIEWED.

Conſiderations on the momentous Subjects of Peace, and War, and Negociation, in Anſwer to the Pretenſions of France. By Mr. P. Pratt. 8vo. Pp. 80. 2s. Hatchard. 1801.

MR. PRATT, the author of the little tract, entitled the BOA CONSTRICTOR, reviewed in a former Number, here labours to rouze his countrymen to a juſt ſenſe of the danger to which they muſt be expoſed by a diſhonourable peace which would leave France in poſſeſſion of all her conqueſts, without applying the ſame principle of the *Uti poſſidetis* to Great Britain. On this ſubject he feels and he ſpeaks as a Briton ought to feel and to ſpeak. Moſt truly, indeed, does he urge "that a retention of our colonial conqueſts, made from France and the powers which have *ſubſerved* to her, is neceſſary to counterbalance, and will but imperfectly remedy the danger accruing to the independence of Europe, from the enormous continental acquiſitions of the Republic." And, again—

"A ceſſion of the holds and poſſeſſions which our ſoldiers and ſailors have toiled and bled to acquire, in the preſent relation of the mother countries to France, is impoſſible to be reconciled with that calculating anxiety for our future *attitude*, that perception of our own intereſts (as they can never be entirely ſeparated from thoſe of our neighbours) which would incite us to detain in our hands, for the defence of our commercial Empire, places which, in the hands of the Republic, might become the means of a more extended annoyance to Europe."

Mr. P. however, only contends for the neceſſity of retaining *our* conqueſts, in the event of a refuſal on the part of France to reſtore any which ſhe had made herſelf. But, all the labours of this and every other writer, in defence of our national intereſt, honour, and ſecurity, have proved *labour in vain*; for our Miniſters have ſettled the queſtion, by cutting the knot which they could

not untie. Whether or no the true Britiſh principles of Mr. P. (conveyed, we admit, not in language the moſt correct) gave offence to the Monthly Reviewers, we pretend not to decide; but they appear to have treated him moſt ſcurvily; and, in conſequence of ſuch treatment, he has ſent us the following appeal, which, from a principle of Juſtice, on the one hand, and from reſpect for his principles on the other, we admit.

TO THE EDITORS.

GENTLEMEN,

AS I am perſuaded, that you will never provoke an angry word from one who would not be offended, ſhould you have occaſion to ſpeak of his literary efforts in terms diſapproving and ſevere, provided they were juſt; but would endeavour to acquire the ſpirit of reformation which they were meant to convey: ſo I am perſuaded that you will not refuſe inſertion to a letter, intended to counteract cenſures which ſome rival critics have formally paſſed, it appears to him and ſome friends, without ſufficient foundation.

As the Monthly Reviewers have objected only to the *ſtyle* of the preſent writer, and not to his principles, it ſeemed to him that the beſt anſwer to their objections which, had they been ſolid, would have induced him to lay down the pen, was promptly writing—as one of the ancients replied to a ſophiſt who gravely argued that there was no ſuch thing as motion, by moving. The ſubject, which naturally forced itſelf on his attention, was their own unintentional error or deliberate unfairneſs.

I hope you will not think, that, in my letter to them I have been wanting in reſpect. And though my addreſs to you certainly proceeds on the ſuppoſition that they would withhold complaints from the public, which if they are firmly, I have endeavoured ſhould be temperately expreſſed; yet I am not ſo inclined to ſuppoſe, that they find any internal pleaſure in perſevering in miſrepreſentation, and injuſtice, as I am to believe, that they would ſuppreſs the Letter becauſe it contains ſome high panegyrics on the manner in which they generally diſcharge their duty. I am not diſpoſed to try, whether their diſpoſition to redreſs, is as ſtrong as their modeſty.

A Letter to the Monthly Reviewers, by Mr. Pratt.

GENTLEMEN,

I BEG leave, as the author of "Conſiderations on the momentous Subjects of Peace, and War, and Negociation, in anſwer to the Pretenſions of France," to point out ſome inaccuracies which have eſcaped you, in reviewing that pamphlet.* At the ſame time, while I mention theſe, that they may meet with redreſs, I ſhall not be ſo ungrateful, as to paſs over the inſtances, which the ſame article affords, of liberality and forbearance.

Among other aſſertions in your Review, which had they been made with truth and diſcrimination, would have furniſhed a charge of "impurity," and even unintelligibility of ſtyle, to which I could not demur, is the following paſſage—ſelected, I would ſay, if you did not derive ſome merit from the reputation of your predeceſſors; and you, no doubt, are as able and as impartial as they, in the true ſpirit of garbling. "He," ſpeaking of the writer now preſuming to invite you to a reviſion of your critique, "talks of—'a temporary *graſp* vaniſhing from the teſt of nice and equitable aſſay.' Give

* Vide Month. Rev. for Sept. 1801.

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me leave to produce, leſt it ſhould not be in the ſingle copy of the book ſubmitted to your critical acumen, the period from which this member, ſheer nonſenſe as it is preſented to the public in your Review, is taken. Condeſcend to ſay, whether any having ability to perceive, however ſlowly, would require to be told, that I ſpeak, in this ſhort extract, of *arguments*, and *not of grafp*, as *vaniſhing*. "The arguments which France had for the indiſſoluble annexation of tracts, which the fortune of war had thrown under what ſhould have been but a temporary graſp, vaniſhing ſucceſſively from the teſt of nice and equitable aſſay, reſolve themſelves into one."

I ſhall reſerve any comments which ſuch a mode of citing examples would inſpire, and go on.

I, who cannot help connecting ideas in the pamphlet which are not ſuffered to appear in your Review, with the detachments of three, four, and five words, which have been ſeparately ſifted, and ſet there by themſelves, muſt confeſs that I ſee, in few of the inſtances of faulty language any groſs impropriety.

I have ſome objections to ſuch verbal criticiſm, but I ſhall offer them with reſpect. Emboldened by the very amuſing ſimilitude which you have found in Mr. Kelly's ſinging to "*macaroni dreſſed in potatoes*,"* to attempt ſomething like it; the writer, who, to induce you to a review and correction of your own performances, would fain give them their very form and preſſure, cannot help ſtepping out of the uſual walks of literature for an illuſtration. As you could not be on the heights of Parnaſſus, as you muſt have found your way down a kitchen area, when this beautiful figure occurred; lay aſide an air of judicial dignity, inconſiſtent with the practice of low arts, take my arm, and let us go into the haunts of the menial and buſy together. What would you think of a factor, who, being looked up to for his opinion of a particular commodity, ſhould, after boring that commodity, (in order that you may digeſt this imitation of your own manner better, I will ſuppoſe the commodity to be cheeſe—aye, I ſee this goes down as well as the macaroni and potatoes with your readers—) what would you think of a man officiouſly profeſſing to cater for others, who ſhould ſwallow the fragment waited for by thoſe, who, ſuſpending their own taſte, expected to receive it as a ſpecimen, and preſent only the parings?

The queſtion, which I thus take the liberty to offer, may have the more effect, as you call your quotations "ſcraps." The laſt of them is—'giving whirling ruin to circumſcription.' Theſe are not the words. Not but what the exact words, "giving *the* whirling ruin *a* circumſcription," would be almoſt as unintelligible to thoſe whom your diſcriminating Review ſhould conduct in their reading, unleſs they had the pamphlet to refer to, by which they would perceive, that I had been ſpeaking of the neceſſity of aſſigning a boundary to the repeated invaſions of France.

There is, in the laſt number of your Review, as there is in every work of genius, ſomething aſtoniſhing. Of the article reviewed before the "Conſiderations," the "Boa Conſtrictor,"† of which the ſtyle is the ſame, you have not ſpoken with any diſapprobation; indeed your notice of it, which extends as far as its length and importance might demand, is rather favourable. Speaking immediately after of the writer of the Conſiderations, you ſay

* Vide Monthly Rev. for Sept. 1801; art. 47, p. 97.

† Vide Monthly Review for September, Monthly Catalogue, Art. 46.

he is of opinion with the author of the preceding Article, that, &c. &c. At this remark I could not forbear ſmiling, as you evidently have not obſerved, that the author of both is the ſame perſon, though the name, P. Pratt, is affixed to both. The fact is, the work which you very reluctantly allow to contain ſome of the "ore of good ſenſe," though its ſtyle cannot be held up to "ſufficient reprobation," is a continuation of the former, and breathes ſpirits and ſentiments ſimilar to thoſe on which, at a moment when the muſe of mildneſs prompted your deciſions, you were either not led to feel, or forbore to beſtow, one excitement to neglect or condemnation.

Your edifying receptacle of polite literature may boaſt, even when you are obliged to cenſure, a conſtant expreſſion of liberality, an abſolute freedom from rudeneſs.* Forming myſelf on ſo excellent a model, if I can point out a defect in *your* viſion, let it be done ſo as not to ſubject myſelf to the reproof—"Fool! thou ſeeſt not the beam that is in thine own eye." Be it therefore with great deference mentioned, that I conceive the phraſe "*anoint* with *ſlaver*," as it occurs in your 46th Article, to be improper; becauſe there is ſomething of decency and dignity in the word anoint, which ſeems to confine it to the external uſe of an oil ointment or perfume, as a medical application, or ſacred ceremony. Do you recollect having committed to public obſervation, the phraſe "anoint with ſlaver," in ſumming up the contents of the *Boa Conſtrictor?*

Do not, my candid judges, from any thing which has preceded, ſuppoſe that I am inclined to diſpute your qualifications to lead the public taſte. I conſider the deviations from literal ſtrictneſs noticeable in your laſt number, as reſulting from one of thoſe accidents to which all great men are liable. Though it were diſſembling not to own, that you "ſeem to be remiſs," I conceive, as you complacently ſpeak of yourſelves, in Art. X. of the ſame Number, that you were "preparing to act with the greateſt propriety." Seated in the "chair of criticiſm," with the 'Conſiderations' before you, I ſee you reſolved, to deviate neither into faſtidiouſneſs, nor into uncritical forbearance, but to exerciſe the "ſtern virtues of your office."

Unfortunately, however, for the author, whoſe writings were undergoing the ordeal, the occaſional attacks of Morpheus, were ſuch as not indeed entirely to prevent the important examination from proceeding, but as to rob the critic of his ability to diſtinguith, with any clearneſs of ſight, the objects which were before him. Hence *incorrect quotations*, and *correſponding judgements*.

But I muſt not forget that, perhaps with more courage than prudence, I am directly addreſſing the Monthly Reviewers. You will perhaps ſay, that inſtead of proſecuting the ſubject, I have been giving the reins to my imagination. But there was no other way of accounting for irregularities in your Review which will not increaſe your reputation with the Public; without having recourſe to the charge of prediſpoſed malignancy, or wilful perverſion, or without ſuppoſing antipathy to the book becauſe the principles are Britiſh.

You ſay, it is impoſſible by "ſcraps of quotation," to give an adequate idea of the "viciouſneſs" of the ſtyle. If by this, you mean the Public to

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* Vide the diſapprobation expreſſed of Mr. Chater's Offering to the Memory of Cowper, Month. Review. I allude to the decorous, gentlemanly manner.

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conſider *ſcraps*, as *not ſufficient* to give an idea of ſtyle, I am bound to thank you; as I am for your forbearing to inſert the worſt ſentence, which certainly would have proved that the beſt judgment is made from a whole paragraph.

One exceſs of your goodneſs, indeed, ſurpriſes me. What can there be in the pamphlet that ſhould induce you to ſuppoſe that the writer had attempted a "majeſty of ſtyle?" As there can be nothing worthy of blame, in attempting a majeſty of ſtyle, in an addreſs written from an impulſe of patriotiſm, which endeavours to fix the reader's attention on the intereſts of kingdoms; and as you have forborne to adduce any inſtances of failure; I am forced to take this as a compliment. Although I know not where I have attained it, not to take it as a compliment would be to claſs you among thoſe connoiſſeurs, ſpoken of by Cicero, who, from confined ideas of Atticiſm, were enemies to all that was bold and ornamental.

While lenity thus modulates the action of your correcting hand in your remarks on others, your own ſtyle is, in an eminent degree, ſecure from any charges of impropriety. But if Demoſthenes was reproached by Æſchines, as a nuiſance, having his expreſſions arraigned, as harſh and deteſtable, and too ſhocking to be endured; and if it be true, as aſſerted by Cicero, that genius can ſcarcely avoid ſome glowing expreſſion which may be turned into ridicule; how is it that you purſue your literary courſe ſo ſafely? How is it that there is ſcarcely to be found in your volumes one glowing expreſſion?

By way of *retort courteous*, I ſhall now ſelect a paſſage from your own work, the ſelection of beauties yet made, has been overlooked. It ſhall not be compoſed of features taken here and there, calculated to give delight when ſeparate, but not according well together: it ſhall be inſerted, as it really ſtands.

In the Monthly Review for December, 1790, Vol. III. of the new ſeries, p. 451, the critic, after quoting a long paſſage from Mr. Burke, much inferior to his own in chaſteneſs of compoſition, having refreſhed his intellect with ſome right Straſburgh, makes the following elegant and appoſite obſervation.

"Our readers are to take notice, that all this, handſome as it is, is nothing more than a light breeze, or gentle puff of ſide wind, while the Right Hon. *circumnavigator's gilded veſſel* is ſailing down the channel of an *eſtabliſhed church*. What fine things might have been, or what may ſtill be, exhibited to view, if he had proceeded, or ſhould, as he ſeems to intimate, again put to ſea, and hereafter proceed ſo far on his voyage, as to fall in with the great *monſoon of an eſtabliſhed Ariſtocracy*, is more than enters into the heart of man to conceive."

What a beautiful figure is that of a *veſſel* ſailing in a *church!*

How argumentative and profound is the whole paſſage!

Of the *monſoon*, it may be ſaid, that it is an ill wind which blows nobody good.

What a pity a ſtricture on the reaſonings of Burke, ſo forcible at the beginning, ſhould end with a confeſſion of inability to conceive!

With all the admiration which your talents and impartiality can demand,

I am, Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

Hart-ſtreet, 10*th Oct.* 1801. P. PRATT.

To The Monthly Reviewers,

HENSHALL'S REPLY TO THE REVIEWERS.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

THOUGH I find it impoſſible to ſtimulate Sylvanus Urban, or any* courſer in his training, again to enter the liſts with me; yet, I truſt, you will permit me to continue my obſervations on their jade's tricks, to wipe away the mud which they attempted to throw in my face with their heels, and thus blind my eyes, or ſtop my mouth; and if ſuch manœuvres failed, they expected to lame my hands by their ſkill in *literary jockey-ſhip*. For theſe critics had been promiſed the aſſiſtance of other worthy compeers; and a ſonnet-writing Reviewer has been hunting after profeſſors in our univerſities, and ſcholars in the metropolis, to condemn a publication he cannot read, and conſequently not underſtand; but yet he is aſſured that it poſſeſſes no merit. Such is the equity and judgment of *Britiſh* journaliſts.

But I ſhall now proceed to examine the Examiners. The Gentleman's Magazine for 1798, p. 865 ſtates, that "the *nonſenſe* of my tranſlation of Cædmon is wonderful: but the firſt Chapter of St. John's Goſpel *paſſes* every thing. This paſſage has alſo been ſelected by the Analytical Reviewers as a ſpecimen of my ignorance; but neither have pointed out wherein my "*wonderful* nonſenſe" is ſuper-eminently manifeſted by the literal tranſlation; nor dare theſe blockheads either attack my Divinity or Philology.

As they have not ſpecified their objections, or particularized my blunders, yet I think it neceſſary to juſtify myſelf relative to thoſe words, on which a candid ſcholar may entertain ſome doubts. For *frumen*, meaning *forming*, Mr. Tooke is my authority, in his derivation of *from*. For *word* being capable of the interpretation *worth*, in addition to the omiſſion of the article, we have the German *werd*, and Matthew, viii. v. 8, the Saxon, in the language of the Centurion, is *ne eam ic wurthe*, not am I worthy; the Gothic is ni im wairths; that word, or worth, may mean *price*; we find Judas's thirty pieces of ſilver not received into the treaſury, *fortham the lyt is blodes worth*, Matt. xxvii. v. 6. our *price* of blood. I think they can make no objections to the remainder of my tranſlation. But I would have theſe pretended philologiſts to underſtand, that there are few words in the Saxon language that do not convey ideas; and that many words are compounded as in the Greek. Thus, in divinity, *God* is *good*; the *Devil* is *Do-evil*; the Redeemer of the World is the *Healing-one Halend*; the Judge of the World, or Lord, is *Do-right*, who is, Deut. xxxii. 4. butan ælcre unrightwiſniſſe rihtwis: be-out any unrighteouſneſs (or unrightwiſeneſs) rightwiſe. Lord, is, even according to Johnſon, *blaf-ord*, or ſource from R. I. in *terra*, (according to the fabulous mythology,) and *life*-life Gen. i. 20; and conſequently the ſarcaſtic and democratic query of the *wooden Civilian*. "How comes it that a *Lord* (*ſimply* a Lord) ſhould be more a *Doer-right* than

* It is proper you ſhould know, that there were three, *at leaſt*, that ran againſt me in the Gentleman's Magazine; an aged vicious horſe, that has lamed, bit, and kicked ſeveral generous animals at *ſtarting*, that otherwiſe would have diſtanced him; another in his prime, but without bottom; and a ſhambling three year old, that knows not his paces. The ſame number were engaged to break me down in the Analytical. Theſe are *dead*.

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another rank of men," arises solely from the ignorance of an affected Linguist, that is incapable of distinguishing with precision.

Excuse me, Sir, if I indulge my indignant feelings, by allowing my mind to describe in forcible language the convictions of my matured judgment relative to the supercilious and impudent assertion, (criticisms I wished to have said) of these *non-comprehensive* scribblers The Risus Sardonicus cum adunco Naso of Syl. Urb cannot tell what *forstalles* means with precision, but authoritatively denounces it to be *theft*. Is *hamsocna, theft?*—I now tell this accurate *civilian* that theft is implied under each term. But that the latter is confined to *homesteating*, within the jurisdiction of a particular court, and, consequently, the offender becomes responsible to the Lord of the Soc and Sac, and that *forstell* is not only *simply* a *theft*, but *forth-stealing*; assaltus in regia via (Leg. Henr. I.) On the same principle *Infangtheofes* is opposed to *Outfangtheefes*, one implying the caption of a thief within the precincts of the court, the other his seizure beyond the confines of the borough or manor.

I have thus given my *answer*, which, when a verb, I allow to be literally synonimous with the Saxon *Andswerian*, but then I do not concede that originally it did not imply anti-swear. Let us resort to analogy in the Greek and Latin languages. Σπονδὴ is a libation to the Gods, on ratifying a league by one party; hence the Roman *Responsis* was a similar libation, and appeal to the gods by the opposite party; and hence our simple term response. Answer, therefore, on similar principles, may have a like derivation from the Greek ἀντὶ, and the term *swear*. The dogmatical Editor of the Gentleman's Magazine confidently asserts, that *Seo Helle*, in the false Gospel of Nicodemus, which I had rendered She Hell, (which he has inaccurately printed in one extract, *the* Hell,) should be *the* Hell, which in his language, would give "its sublimity full force." We refer this critic, for the personality of Hell, to Thwaite's false Gospel, p. 15, where he will find *David* HYRE *andswarode tha and cwæth*, David *her* answered thea and quoth. I will only reply to one other sarcastic remark of the Analytical Reviewers, relative to *ure Rædesmen*, our read-men, (says Mr. H.) i. e. men of letters, reading, writers, or wise men." He might have *read*, and learned better from the metrical Psalms. Rædesmen signifies counsellors, as Somner has well rendered it, p. 363. I first ask this *candid* critic, whether *counsellors* would have been a "literal, verbatim, idiomatic rendering," which I always attempted to give? But I still defend and prefer read-men, as conveying more precise and correct ideas, on the following grounds: *Readmen* were the members of the Court of a *Riding*, the *Radmanni* of Domesday in some counties, the *Radcheniſtres* in the language of the Reporters in other districts, which is from *rad-ken*, "to know how to read," corresponding with the German *rathman*, a Senator, the Gothic *ragenis*, a Counsellor, (applied to Joseph of Arimathæa,) and from *rad-ken* and Racheniſtres we have the English reckon and Reckoners; they were of the description mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle "*thæs the us seegath bec, ealde uth witan*," the Seekers of Books, the Elders of the Wise men; and the Scribes are constantly entitled *bokera* in the Saxon, the Readers or Writers of Books.

Thus, Sir, I have "*answered fools according to their folly, lest they should be wise in their own conceit.* (Prov. xxiv. v. 5.) I have assumed the same haughty tone, arrogated to myself the same superiority, and treated these fools, these shallow pretenders to criticism, have with the same contempt, which scribblers, "preferring the pride of derision to the toil of enquiry," adopted in their Review of my Saxon publication. But I have again fol-

lowed the advice of Solomon, "I have not anſwered fools according to their folly, leſt I ſhould be like unto them. (Prov. xxvi. v. 4.) I have never deluded the reader by a wilful miſrepreſentation; I have not endeavoured to make others blind, becauſe my eyes may be dim; I have not been *malignant, out of vanity*, to preſerve a *little* reputation I had acquired, by being able to conſult a Saxon lexicon; I have not thrown out ſly and impertinent ſneers, when I could not openly and manfully meet the charge; nor have I fought for a literary triumph againſt the dictates of my conſcience, or in oppoſition to truth, reaſon, and judgment. The acquiſition of ſound knowledge and accurate information relative to the antient ſtate of our realm, was the primary motive that impelled me to purſue the ſtudy of Saxon literature; I now repeat, with the greateſt confidence, "that I found it impoſſible to draw any certain inference from the Latin jargon of "Hickes Willuns," &c. but that I can make out almoſt any Saxon record or chapter in the Heptateuch of Thwaites, the Goſpels, or Pſalms, by my ſimple method. Knowing that many of our ingenious youth in Oxford were cultivating the knowledge of the Saxon tongue, by the aſſiſtance of grammars and lexicons, conſtructed on falſe principles, I committed my diſſertation to the preſs as ſpeedily as poſſible, that they might not miſemploy their time. While engaged in this illiberal controverſy, however, I have had the conſolation of being encouraged by ſeveral old Saxon ſcholars, who aſſure me, that "I have been completely victorious," and that I have given them ample ſatisfaction on the ſubject. For the preſent, then, Mr. Editor, I return you thanks for the inſertion of my letters, and hope for your indulgence on any future attack. I am yours, &c.

J. HENSHALL.

London, Auguſt 11, 1799.

N. B. We have to apologize to the learned writer of this letter, for having ſo long omitted to inſert it. But the omiſſion was owing entirely to the circumſtance of its having been miſlaid; and the moment it was found it was ſent to the preſs. REV.

MISCELLANIES.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

I AM much obliged to you for your very polite and flattering attention to me, and to the piece which you are pleaſed to regard with ſo much indulgence. It is an endeavour very well intended; but I am conſcious very inadequate to the great intereſts of this kingdom and of mankind, which it propoſes to aſſert.

I have ſeen, though too late to profit of them, your brother's admirable Annals, which may rank with thoſe of Tacitus. There is, indeed, a ſtrong coincidence in our way of thinking. I ought to be very proud of that circumſtance. If I had ſeen his performance before I had written on the ſame ſubject, I ſhould rather have choſen to enrich my pamphlet with quotations from thence, than have ventured to expreſs the thoughts, in which we agreed, in worſe words of my own.

I thank

I thank you too for the elegant poems which you have done me the honour to tranſmit to me with your letter. So far as I am capable of forming any judgment upon French poetry, the verſes are ſpirited and well-turned; and the author poſſeſſes the art of intereſting the paſſions, which is the triumph of that kind of eloquence.

I wiſh, without diſguiſing my real ſentiments, I could go as far in my approbation of the general tendency of one of theſe pieces, and of the policy of ſuch publications at ſuch a time as this. Forgive me, Sir, if I take the liberty of ſuggeſting to your ſuperior judgment, as well as to that of the Emperor's adviſers, that it is not very eaſy to ſuppreſs (by the methods lately uſed) what you call "the monkiſh fury," without exciting fury of another kind; a ſort of fury which will, perhaps, be found more untractable than the other, and which may be carried to much greater lengths. In ſuch a dilemma, it would not miſbecome a great Statesman ſeriouſly to conſider, which (of theſe furies) he has it in charge to ſupport, and which is more fatal to the country, which it is his duty to preſerve in peace and proſperity. That fury which ariſes in the minds of men on being ſtripped of their goods, and turned out of their houſes by acts of power, and our ſympathy with them under ſuch wrongs, are feelings implanted in us by our Creator to be (under the direction of his laws) the means of our preſervation. Such fury and ſuch ſympathy are things very different from men's imaginary political ſyſtems concerning governments. They ariſe out of inſtinctive principles of ſelf-defence, and are executive powers under the legiſlation of nature, enforcing its firſt law. This principle princes and commonwealths (whatever they may think their rights) cannot always attack with perfect impunity.

If princes will, in cold blood, and from miſtaken ideas of policy, excite the paſſions of the multitude againſt particular deſcriptions of men, whether they be prieſts or nobility, in order to avail themſelves of the aſſiſtance of that multitude in their enterprizes againſt thoſe claſſes, let them recollect, that they call in the aid of an ally more dangerous to themſelves than to thoſe whom they are deſirous of oppreſſing.

The Netherlands have been but newly recovered to the Emperor. He owes that recovery to a concurrence of very extraordinary circumſtances; and he has made great ſacrifices to his object. Is it really his intereſt to have it underſtood, that he means to repeat the very proceedings which have excited all the late troubles in his territories? Can it be true that he means to draw up the very ſame flood gates which have let looſe the deluge that has overwhelmed the great monarchy in his neighbourhood? Does he think, if he means to encourage the ſpirit which prevails in France, that it will be exerted in his favour, or to anſwer his purpoſes? Whilſt he is deſtroying prejudices which (under good management) may become the ſureſt ſupport of his government; is he not afraid that the diſcuſſion may go farther than he wiſhes? If he excites men to enquire, too ſcrupulouſly, into the foundation of all old opinion, may he not have reaſon to apprehend, that ſeveral will ſee as little uſe in monarchs as in monks? The queſtion is not, whether they will argue logically or not, but whether the turn of mind which leads to ſuch diſcuſſion, may not become as fatal to the former as to the latter. He may truſt in the fine army he has aſſembled; but fine armies have been ſeduced from their allegiance, and the ſeducers are not far from him: he may fortify his frontier; but fortreſſes have been betrayed by their garriſons, and garriſons overpowered by

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no idea in it of reſtraint, or, indeed, of a diſtinct, ſettled principle of any kind. When their diſciples are thus left free, and guided only by preſent feeling, they are no longer to be depended on for good or evil. The men who to day ſnatch the worſt criminals from juſtice, will ſurrender the moſt innocent perſons to-morrow.

I aſſure you, Sir, that this letter has been written ſix weeks ago, given to be copied, and I really thought ſent to you. Looking on my papers, I found my memory had betrayed me, and that you have an apparent reaſon to complain of my neglect. You have, in the late events, done yourſelf great honour, as I hear. Do not be diſcouraged. The value of ſuch ſervices will, one day, be known and acknowledged. I have the honour to be with moſt ſincere reſpect,

Your moſt obedient and humble ſervant,

June 1791. EDMUND BURKE.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

IN your laſt Number, page 99, line 9, for *paſſages* read *paſſage*. It is a little unfortunate, that this ungrammatical erratum takes place in a ſentence complaining of falſe grammar.

Another erratum of ſome conſequence ariſes from the tranſpoſition of the words *reviewer* and *writer* in the laſt ſentence, which ſtood thus:

"Perhaps, as the word in queſtion* is the very laſt in the page, it eſcaped the wearied eye of your *Reviewer*, from its extreme ſimilarity to that which was intended by the *writer* of the article."

* After queſtion dele the comma.

HISTORY.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE die is, at length, caſt; all our predictions are fulfilled; all our apprehenſions realized; and the ruin of our country, we fear, has been prepared by the concluſion of a Peace, which neither gives us *indemnity for the paſt*, nor *ſecurity for the future*. The mind is loſt and bewildered in the contemplation of this extraordinary event, and it in vain looks, on all the circumſtances which have preceded or attended the mighty change for a ſource of conſolation, or even a baſis of hope. We are not apt to deſpond; but we have attended too cloſely to the origin, the progreſs, and the conſequences of the late war; we have too narrowly watched the growing ſpirit of our implacable enemies; we have too attentively traced the gradual degradation of all the nations of Europe, not to feel the moſt ſerious alarm at the magnitude of the dangers with which we are encompaſſed.

Heaven forbid we ſhould impute to his Majeſty's Miniſters, any wiſh or intention to ſacrifice thoſe national intereſts which it is their bounden duty to protect againſt every encroachment. They are, we know, incapable of harbouring any ſuch thought; their perſonal integrity, their individual character,

character, ſtand deſervedly high in the eſtimation of the world; but, in public life, in the arduous field of political contention, as STATESMEN, in ſhort, they were many of them untried; they all of them, likewiſe, were ſubject to the fallibility inſeparable from human nature; no wonder, then, that, with the utmoſt purity of mind and integrity of heart, they ſhould have erred ſo eſſentially, ſo radically, in our opinion, as to have miſtaken diſgrace for honour, ſervility for independence, ſacrifice for magnanimity, and danger for ſecurity. To characterize the Preliminary Treaty of Peace, to examine it in all its bearings and tendencies, to aſcertain its immediate effects, and to appreciate its remoter conſequences, would require a volume of no diminutive ſize. Its nature, however, may be ſufficiently learnt from the ſingle conſideration, that, between Britain and France, *every thing* has been given up *by the former*, and *nothing* by the *latter*; ſo much for the *honour* we have acquired by the Treaty. Though in the very face of the treaty we find, that it is *excluſively* a treaty between Great Britain and France; yet by one of its articles, does France take upon herſelf to give away, and does Great Britain condeſcend to accept from her hands, two poſſeſſions belonging to free and independent powers, who were not parties to the agreement. *Ceylon*, the property of the *Dutch*; *Trinidada*, the property of *Spain*.—So much for our *magnanimity*. But, good Heavens! could it poſſibly have eſcaped the attention of Lord HAWKESBURY, that, by this very act, he gave a complete ſanction to that jacobinical principle on which the gigantic uſurpations of the Regicide Republic of France have been founded; that he admitted her right not merely to preſcribe laws to her allies, but to diſpoſe of their territories, at her pleaſure?—A right, which, poſſibly, this nation may, ere long, be called upon to diſpute; but, with what effect, after ſuch an admiſſion, our readers will eaſily conceive!—In ſhort, we require no other proof, than this one act, of the perfect incapacity of his Lordſhip to fulfil the important duties of his high ſtation. It is an act ſo glaring that it muſt flaſh conviction on every eye, and carry demonſtration with it to every mind. If any other proofs indeed were requiſite, the whole conduct of the negociation with M. Otto, from its origin, to its cloſe, would ſupply a lamentable ſtock.

France, by this peace, is left in poſſeſſion of ſuch an extent of power, as we cannot contemplate without terror and diſmay; of a power, the poſſeſſion of which has been invariably repreſented by every wiſe Stateſman, who has held the reins of government, in theſe realms, from BURLEIGH to CHATHAM, whether *Whig* or *Tory*, as not only utterly incompatible with our proſperity, but as abſolutely deſtructive of our ſafety! Nay, who can be ignorant, that a conſiderable portion of our National Debt, as it exiſted previous to the war, was incurred in the noble efforts of the country to prevent France from obtaining thoſe very territories which have now been ſo haſtily, ſo raſhly, ceded to her? So much then for our *ſecurity and independence!* But, it may be urged, the little proſpect, not to ſay the utter impoſſibility, which exiſted, of compelling France to make reſtitution of thoſe countries, is a ſufficient juſtification of the Miniſtry for acquieſcing in a retention which they wanted the ability to prevent. True, there might exiſt a dire neceſſity for leaving France in poſſeſſion of a vaſt, and moſt dangerous, extent of power; but, ſurely, an attempt ſhould have been made to place Great Britain in a ſituation to counteract the effects of ſuch power, which, in the common courſe of things, muſt, ſooner or later, be directed againſt herſelf? In a word, the principle of the *uti poſſidetis*, which would have afforded the means requiſite,

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ſhould have been enforced; or elſe, a more partial reſtitution of our conqueſts might have been made, either to ſecure the reſtoration of the old Government in Holland, or to obtain from France the ceſſion of thoſe fortreſſes, on the frontiers of that Republic, without which her independence is a phantom.

If we conſider our *ſecurity* in a conſtitutional point of view, we ſee as little cauſe for conſolation or hope, as in the view of our ſituation with reſpect to foreign Powers. The whole proſpect is bleak, comfortleſs, deſolate, and gloomy. On every ſide we ſee objects of terror; in all quarters, dangers unparralleled in their nature or extent, meet our eyes and appal our underſtanding.—Neither our limits nor our time will allow us, at preſent, to take even a brief view of this momentous, and moſt aweful, ſubject; but our conceptions cannot be more clearly conveyed, in a ſhort compaſs, than in the following impreſſive words of Mr. PITT, extracted from his printed ſpeech publiſhed early in the year 1800.

In his ſpeech of the 3d of February 1800, he took a maſterly view of the principles and practices of the French Revolutioniſts; and, with that commanding eloquence, ſo peculiar his own, held up the hideous portrait of Buonaparte to the world, in all its native deformity. Unfortunately our contracted limits preclude the poſſibility of giving more than a few of the prominent features of this admirable ſketch.

"There are two anecdotes connected with the concluſion of that ſeparate treaty (with Auſtria) which are ſufficient to illuſtrate the diſpoſition of this pacificator of Europe. This very treaty of Campo-Formio was oſtentatiouſly profeſſed to be concluded with the Emperor for the purpoſe of enabling Buonaparte to take the command of the Army of England, and to dictate a ſeparate peace with this country on the banks of the Thames. But there is this additional circumſtance, ſingular beyond all conception, conſidering that we are now referred to the Treaty of Campo-Formio as a proof of the perſonal diſpoſition of the Conſul to general peace; he ſent his two confidential and choſen friends, Berthier and Monge, charged to communicate to the Directory this Treaty of Campo-Formio; to announce to them, that one enemy was humbled, that the war with Auſtria was terminated, and, therefore, that now was the moment to proſecute their operations againſt this country; they uſed, on this occaſion, the memorable words, "the kingdom of *Great Britain* and the French Republic cannot exiſt together."—This, I ſay, was the ſolemn declaration of the Deputies and Ambaſſadors of Buonaparte himſelf, offering to the Directory the firſt fruits of this firſt attempt at general pacification.

"So much for his diſpoſition towards general pacification; let us look next at the part he has taken in the different ſtages of the French Revolution, and let us then judge whether we are to look to him, as *the ſecurity againſt revolutionary principles*; let us determine what reliance we can place on his engagements with other countries, when we ſee how he has obſerved his engagements to his own.

Mr. Pitt, then, enumerated various acts of perfidy, fraud, and perjury, committed by this *Great Man* in France, and proceeded thus:

"If we carry our views out of France, and look at the dreadful catalogue of all the breaches of treaty, all the acts of perfidy at which I have only glanced, and which are preciſely commenſurate with the number of treaties which the Republic has made; (for I have ſought in vain for any one which it has made, and which it has not broken) if we trace the hiſtory of them all from the beginning of the revolution to the preſent time,

or if we ſelect thoſe which have been accompanied by the moſt atrocious cruelty, and marked moſt ſtrongly with the characteriſtic features of the revolution, the name of Buonaparte will be found to be allied to more of them than that of any other that can be handed down in the hiſtory of the crimes and miſeries of the laſt ten years. His name will be recorded with the horrors committed in Italy, in the memorable campaign of 1796 and 1797, in the Milaneſe, in Genoa, in Modena, in Tuſcany, in Rome, and in Venice.

"His entrance into Lombardy was announced by a ſolemn Proclamation, iſſuing on the 27th of April, 1796, which terminated with theſe words: "*Nations of Italy! the French army is come to break your chains, the French are the friends of the people in every country, your religion, your property, your cuſtoms, ſhall be reſpected.*" This was followed by a ſecond Proclamation, dated from Milan, 20th of May, and ſigned "BUONAPARTE" in theſe terms: *Reſpect for property and perſonal ſecurity. Reſpect for the religion of countries, theſe are the ſentiments of the Government of the French Republic, and of the army of Italy. The French victorious conſider the nations of Lombardy as their brothers.*" In teſtimony of this fraternity, and to fulfil the ſolemn pledge of reſpecting property, this very Proclamation impoſed on the Milaneſe a proviſional contribution to the amount of twenty millions of livres, or near one million ſterling, and ſucceſſive exactions were afterwards levied on that ſingle ſtate to the amount, in the whole, of near ſix millions ſterling. The regard to religion and to the cuſtoms of the country was manifeſted with the ſame ſcrupulous fidelity. The churches were given up to indiſcriminate plunder. Every religious and charitable fund, every public treaſure, was confiſcated. The country was made the ſcene of every ſpecies of diſorder and rapine. The prieſts, the eſtabliſhed form of worſhip, all the objects of religious reverence, were openly inſulted by the French troops; at Pavia particularly the tomb of St. Auguſtin, which the inhabitants were accuſtomed to view with peculiar veneration, was mutilated and defaced; this laſt provocation having rouſed the reſentment of the people they flew to arms, ſurrounded the French garriſon and took them priſoners, but carefully abſtained from offering any violence to a ſingle ſoldier. In revenge for this conduct, Buonaparte, then on his march to the Mincio, ſuddenly returned, collected his troops, and carried the extremity of military execution over the country; he burnt the town of Benaſco and maſſacred eight hundred of its inhabitants; he marched to Pavia, took it by ſtorm, and delivered it over to general plunder, and publiſhed, at the ſame moment, a Proclamation, of the 26th of May, ordering his troops to ſhoot all thoſe who had not laid down their arms, and taken an oath of obedience, and to burn every village where the *tocsin* ſhould be ſounded, and to put its inhabitants to death.

On the precarious tenure by which the Firſt Conſul holds his authority, Mr. Pitt is equally eloquent, and equally juſt.

"His hold upon France is the ſword, and he has no other. Is he connected with the ſoil, or with the habits, the affections, or the prejudices of the country? He is a ſtranger, a foreigner, and an uſurper; he unites in his own perſon every thing that a pure Republican muſt deteſt; every thing that an enraged Jacobin has abjured; every thing that a ſincere and faithful Royaliſt muſt feel as an inſult. If he is oppoſed at any time in his career, what is his appeal? *he appeals to his fortune*; in other words, to his army and his ſword.

Placing,

Placing, then, his whole reliance upon military ſupport, can he afford to let his military renown paſs away, to let his laurels wither, to let the memory of his atchievements ſink into obſcurity? Is it certain that, with his army confined within France, and reſtrained from inroads upon her neighbours, he can maintain, at his devotion, a force ſufficiently numerous to ſupport his power? Having no object but the poſſeſſion of abſolute dominion, no paſſion but military glory, is it certain that he will feel ſuch an intereſt in permanent peace, as would juſtify us in laying down our arms, reducing our expence, and relinquiſhing our means of ſecurity, on the faith of his engagements? Do we believe, that after the concluſion of peace, he would not ſtill ſign over the loſt trophies of Egypt, wreſted from him by the celebrated victory of Aboukir, and the brilliant exertions of that heroic band of Britiſh ſeamen, whoſe influence and example rendered the Turkiſh troops invincible in at Acra."

"Can we believe, with theſe impreſſions on his mind, that, if after a year, eighteen months, or two years, of peace had elapſed, he ſhould be tempted by the appearance of freſh inſurrection in Ireland, *encouraged by renewed and unreſtrained communication with France, and fomented by the freſh infuſion of Jacobin principles*; if we were at ſuch a moment without a fleet to watch the ports of France, or to guard the coaſts of Ireland, without a diſpoſeable army, or an embodied militia, capable of ſupplying a ſpeedy and adequate reinforcement, and that he had ſuddenly the means of tranſporting thither a body of twenty or thirty thouſand French troops: can we believe, that at ſuch a moment his ambition and vindictive ſpirit would be reſtrained by the recollection of engagements, or the obligation of treaty: or, if in ſome new criſis of difficulty and danger to the Ottoman Empire, with no Britiſh navy in the Mediterranean, no confederacy formed, no force collected to ſupport it, an opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf for reſuming the abandoned expedition to Egypt, for renewing the avowed and favourite project of conquering and colonizing that rich and fertile country, and of opening the way to wound ſome of the vital intereſts of England, and to plunder the treaſures of the Eaſt, in order to fill the bankrupt coffers of France, would it be the intereſt of Bonaparte, under ſuch circumſtances, or his principles, his moderation, his love of peace, his averſion to conqueſt, and his regard for the independence of other nations,—would it be all, or any of theſe that would ſecure us againſt an attempt, which would leave us only the option of ſubmitting without a ſtruggle to certain loſs and diſgrace, or of renewing the conteſt which we had prematurely terminated, without Allies, without preparation, with diminiſhed means, and with increaſed difficulty and hazard?"

Yet with this man, whom, in another ſpeech, Mr. PITT ſtyled, and truly ſtyled, THE CHILD and CHAMPION OF JACOBINISM, has the miniſtry, with the ſanction, and by *the advice*, of Mr. PITT himſelf, concluded a Peace!!!

The diſcuſſions to which this meaſure muſt neceſſarily give riſe, will afford us ample occaſion for conſidering the ſubject, in every poſſible point of view. And moſt happy ſhall we be to find thoſe apprehenſions with which our mind is now filled groundleſs and vain!—But, no public event, with a ſingle exception, which has occurred in the courſe of our life, has appeared to us ſo fraught with danger incalculable, ſo big with miſchief irreparable,—ſo fatal, in a word, to the glory, the honour, the independence, the ſecurity, of our country, as this Peace with France. With this impreſſion deeply rooted in our minds, we ſhould be traitors to the cauſe, did we expreſs ourſelves, on the occaſion, with leſs energy and deciſion.